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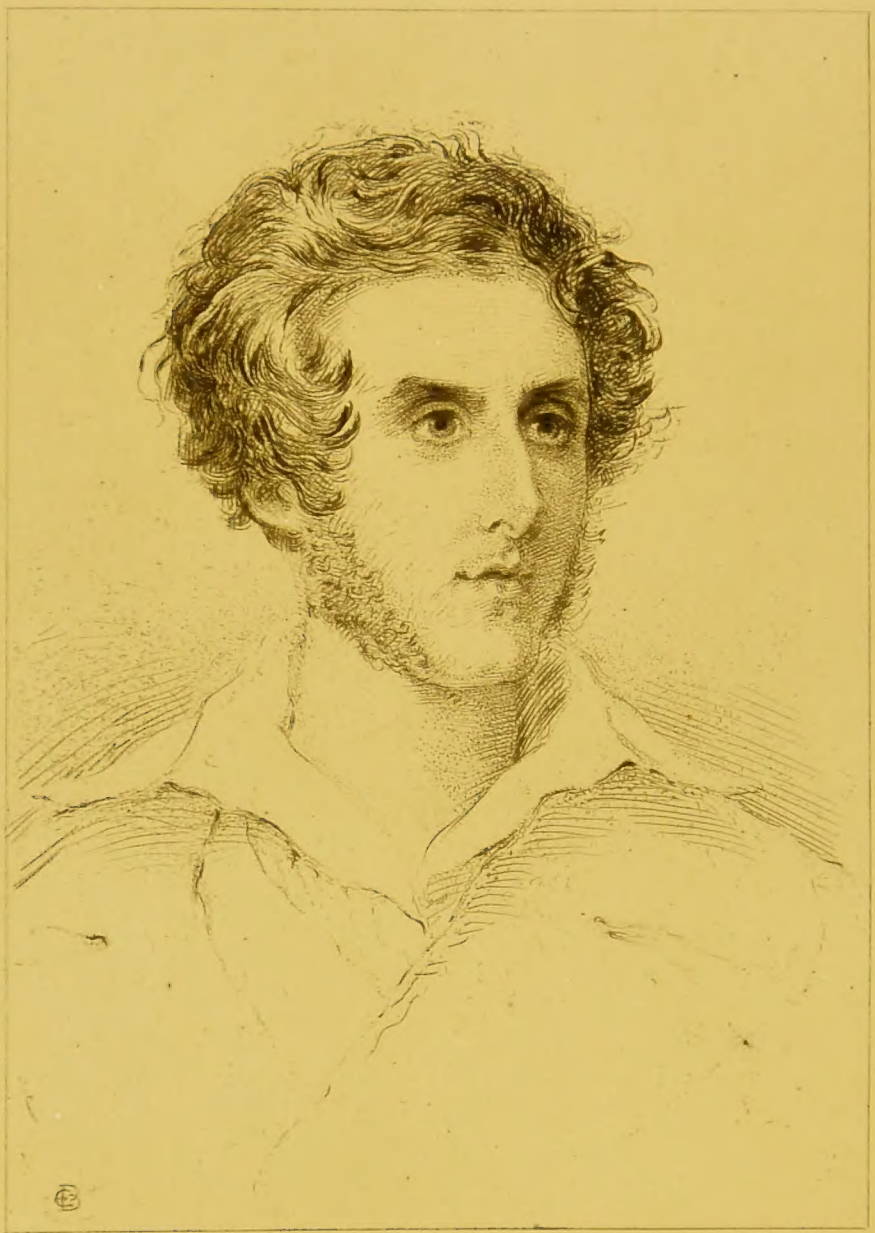
THE

LIFE AND WORK

OF THE SEVENTH

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G.

32069



Shelley ÆTAT 33.

Etched by Edgar Barclay from a sketch by Slater

THE

LIFE AND WORK

OF THE SEVENTH

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G.

BY

EDWIN HODDER.



With Portraits.

Vol. II.

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Lord Ashley was the sworn foe of oppression in whatever form it might be exercised. It mattered not to him whether the oppressed were nations or individuals, his whole nature rose against tyranny and

injustice, and he could not forbear to throw himself into the breach and assist the weak against the strong. The year 1844 opened with heavy demands upon his sympathies. At home his aid was claimed by oppressed needlewomen—a class for whom he was always a willing advocate; and abroad by the ill-used Ameers of Scinde. As usual, he found himself either left almost alone to fight these battles, or else supported only by those from whom he had the least reason to expect help; and he writes in his Journal:—

Jan. 5th.—Prepared as I am, I am oftentimes distressed and puzzled by the strange contrasts I find: support from infidels or non-professors; opposition or coldness from religionists or declaimers! I sometimes pause to reflect whether I can be right, whether I have followed the true course, whether—when so many 'pious' people either thwart or discourage me—I must not be altogether in error. They read and study the Bible; they pray for guidance and light; they ask, and surely obtain, God's grace to judge aright; they surely, too, must make (is it so in fact?) their conduct the subject and consequence of fervent supplication before and after they have resolved to weaken my efforts? What can *I* do which *they* do not do? If I say with fervour before I act, 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings,' &c., so do they, doubtless, when they prepare a resistance to me. They implore Almighty God that all their 'works may be begun, continued, and ended in Him!' Is it so? If it be, I am indeed gravelled.

The efforts of Lord Ashley on behalf of the needlewomen arose out of the following circumstances:—

Jan. 13th.—Mr. Paget is to be indicted for defamation because he has published a book called 'The Pageant,' in which he sets forth some of the Parliamentary evidence about the wretched milliners. An admirable work, full of talent, zeal, and truth. Is it come to this, that wicked abominations may not be proclaimed, and redress

sought for helpless and oppressed women, but at the hazard of a prosecution at law? How can I assist him? He has applied through his solicitors to the Society for the Protection of Milliners and Dressmakers to give him aid by promising support to those young persons who shall offer their evidence.

Jan. 17th.—Wrote to Mr. Paget on Monday; said that cause was common, defence ought to be so too; requested leave to subscribe £25 towards his expenses. Told that he is prepared to make a pitiful defence; deny that the plaintiff was the person intended, and then plead in mitigation of damages!

Jan. 20th.—Heard from Mr. Paget, civil and grateful, but he declines pecuniary assistance. He is wrong in his opinion. His course is difficult, no doubt; would take a bold line could he secure his witnesses from ruin. Seeley has offered to raise £100, and I the same, to indemnify any wretched girls who may, for that reason, be driven from their situations. His letter shows him in a fairer light; think he will assent. Hope so for the cause; and his friends should do so for his character.

Although, as far as Mr. Paget was concerned, the matter rested here, the cause of the needlewomen was not allowed to drop until its painful features had been dragged into the full light, and the wrongs thus exposed redressed.

Meanwhile, the time was rapidly approaching for the reassembling of Parliament, and Lord Ashley had determined to bring forward at an early date a motion for an address to the Crown, with regard to the treatment of the Ameers of Scinde, who were suffering imprisonment and deprivation of their rights from no fault, as he conceived, of their own.

During the Parliamentary Session of 1843, the affairs of India had, on several occasions, been brought under discussion, more especially in connection with

the recent conquest of Scinde. This district, comprising about 50,000 square miles, had been formerly an independent territory. It lay along the north-western frontier of our Indian Empire, and was ruled conjointly by a family of princes known as the Ameers of Scinde. Relations, for the most part friendly, had long subsisted between the Anglo-Indian Government and the Ameers. But disputes arose in connection with the Afghan War and the free passage of the Indus; and the Ameers and their subjects became still more dissatisfied when the English deemed it necessary to occupy the fort of Kurrachee, and, in defiance of a previous Treaty, to force a passage up the river for the conveyance of military stores. In 1842 other demands were made involving the surrender of national independence, and Sir Charles Napier (who expressed his disapproval of the policy) was sent to carry out the orders of the Government. War broke out; the British Resident was expelled from Hyderabad; but at Meeanee, Napier, with 2,800 men, routed an army ten times as numerous; a million sterling in treasure was seized, the six Ameers were thrown into prison, and Scinde was permanently annexed to the British Indian Empire.

These high-handed proceedings did not meet with universal approval at home, and before the Session of 1843 closed, Lord Ashley gave notice of his motion on the subject. As the time drew near for making it, he wrote as follows:—

Feb. 3rd.—In bad heart altogether—shrink from the prospect. Man is not formed to act in public life, and on grand questions, but

in his gregarious character. There must be the taking of sweet counsel together, both to cheer and to assist his efforts. But I am absolutely alone; no one says to me 'God speed.' I cannot calculate on a vote, and most certainly not on a speech from any member.

On the 8th of February, 1844, he brought forward his motion for an address to the Crown praying that her Majesty will be "graciously pleased to take into her consideration the situation and treatment of the Ameers of Scinde; and that she will direct their immediate restoration to liberty, and the enjoyment of their estates, or make such provision for their future maintenance as may be considered a just equivalent." He had waited until the close of the previous Session before he gave notice, in the hope that appeals might arrive from the imprisoned Ameers; and these not having come, he had intended to abandon his motion, lest from incapacity he might compromise their interests. But a letter from Sir Henry Pottinger in the *Morning Chronicle* of January 8th now compelled him to bring the matter before the House. Sir Henry denounced the treatment of the Ameers as "the most unprincipled and disgraceful that had ever stamped the annals of our Empire in India." That, Lord Ashley maintained, was true, to the very letter. These princes were a fraternity of crowned heads, each having a separate and independent principality, but ruling conjointly and federally under the style and title of the Ameers of Scinde. They inhabited a country which their ancestors had acquired by conquest, and ruled over a people of different language and religion from themselves; but, if that were to be used as an

argument against them, it would recoil with tenfold force upon ourselves. The East India Company had recognised the Ameers as governors of Scinde, had entered into friendly relations with them, and had tried to prove to them that nothing but benefit could accrue from an extended intercourse with the British Empire. From 1758 to 1809 there was a period of varying favour and disfavour, suspicion and fear, confidence and jealousy. A Treaty was then made, declaring: "There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Scinde;" and again: "Enmity shall never more appear between the two States." Another Treaty in 1820 declared: "The two contracting Powers mutually bind themselves, from generation to generation, never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." The Ameers asserted that they had faithfully observed the conditions and spirit of the Treaty. In 1832, 1834, and 1838, partial concessions were obtained in our favour as to the navigation of the Indus, and the placing of a British Resident at Hyderabad. Thenceforward there were suspicion and fear, and a tendency to mutual distrust. In 1840, however, when the insurrection at Gwalior broke out, the Ameers permitted the transit of British troops, when hostility on their part would have seriously injured us. Up to 1842, though strongly tempted by the disaffected, the same peaceable demeanour was manifested by them, with the exception of some petty intrigues, inevitable to Eastern courts. In November, 1840, Lord Auckland declared their conduct to be "most friendly;" and in January,

1842, Lord Ellenborough expressed satisfaction at their friendly disposition. But on the 6th of May, 1842, Lord Ellenborough wrote to the Resident, Major Outram: "The Governor-General is led to think that you may have seen reason to doubt the fidelity of some one or more of the Ameers of Scinde." Final conditions, harsh and dishonourable to the Ameers, were then imposed. Lord Ashley thus explained the position:—

Little time was allowed for deliberation. The negotiations, if such they could be called, were to be expedited by the presence of an invading army. Violence naturally begat violence, and distrust and dismay everywhere prevailed. The Beloochees were aroused to arms, and the Ameers were unable to control them. The first attack was on the Resident; and no doubt this was a base and a vile act. But what room for surprise was there at this event? The Battle of Meeanee followed, and the Ameers were defeated and imprisoned. Thus these famous Treaties, which commenced by declaring that enmity should never ensue, and friendship never be at an end, between the two Powers, were wound up by the imprisonment of the Ameers; and the solemn promise never to look with the eyes of covetousness on their dominions, issued in the conquest and annexation of their territory. . . . But then they were charged with treachery. No doubt they were. But where was the proof of this treachery? Over and over again he had called for proofs of this alleged treachery, which was to justify what had been done. No doubt there was abundant intrigue. No doubt the greatest distrust and alarm prevailed, and the greatest desire to get rid of the British from their territory. But was there no cause for this? Was there not ample cause for all this distrust and alarm, and also for the policy which the Ameers had been compelled to pursue? He would pass over all the irritating acts—all the violence of language which had occurred on both sides, and would come to the simple fact. What could be alleged against the Ameers? What act of treachery or dishonour on their parts, as an argument for their destruction and imprisonment?

Lord Ashley then traced the process of encroachment by the British Government in 1838. In that year the Ameers were informed "that the article of the Treaty with them prohibitory of using the Indus for the conveyance of military stores must necessarily be suspended." In December the fortress and ferry of Bukkur, the highway between India and Khorassan, was demanded from the aged Ameer Roostem Khan, and ceded by him. This was the heart of his country, to which Lord Auckland admitted we had no right. In 1842 Lord Ellenborough announced "the continued occupation of Kurrachee," declared Ameer Roostem Khan unfaithful, and called upon him to cede a portion of territory to the Khan of Bhawulpore. Troops were then advanced into the country without waiting for any hostile attitude on the part of the Ameers: some of whom fled, while others prepared for resistance. Sir Charles Napier proceeded to confiscate the estates of those who resisted, not waiting the result of the negotiations which Major Outram was carrying on with the Ameers. He disregarded the entreaties of the princes not to advance his troops, as they could not restrain their Beloochees; but pushed forward, in spite of warnings from Major Outram, and thus provoked the attack on the Residency, which led to the Battle of Meeanee. The Ameers had been accused of writing treacherous letters, but when they demanded a sight of these letters, they were not produced. It was said that they had been given to Ameer Ali Moorad, the very person suspected of having forged them. It was

utterly improbable that they should have entertained hostile intentions : they made no preparations to remove their women or their treasures from Hyderabad. When they might have crushed us, they were prodigal in assistance, contributing, by every facility they could afford, to the recovery of our position and honour. Yet they attempted our destruction (it was alleged) when our troops, returning in victory, had rendered success in such an effort impossible. Even if guilty, a sufficient penalty had been exacted from them. "You have torn them from their thrones," said Lord Ashley, "reduced them to the level of your meanest dependants, seized their dominions, incarcerated their persons, plundered their houses, and exposed them to various forms of privation and insult." To their ladies, whom they left at Hyderabad, were allowed insufficient means of living, while the Ameers, in their prisons, suffered deep dejection at the prospect of life-long confinement after the important services some of them had rendered to the English. Two sons of the late Ameer Noor-Mahommed, specially bequeathed by him to "the honour and kindness of the British Empire," were taken from their mother and placed in separate prisons. Two Ameers, who had lived in retirement at Hyderabad, and had taken no part in the war, were captured and separated from their families, and to them, in reply to their remonstrances, Sir Charles Napier wrote that if they troubled him any more with their falsehoods, he would cast them also into prison ; adding : "You are prisoners, and though I will not kill you, as you ordered your

people to do to the English" (a charge which had never been proved), "I will put you in irons on board a ship. Shere Mahommed is a very weak man, and will soon cause himself to be destroyed, and so will you unless you submit more quietly to the fate which your own rash folly has brought upon you. I will answer no more of your letters, which are only repetitions of gross falsehoods, which I will not submit to." This was not the tone or the language which ought to have been used to defeated men and fallen princes. How did such conduct contrast with that pursued by Lord Cornwallis and the Duke of Wellington towards the family of Tippoo Sahib? In the one case were conceded every abatement of the rights of war, every mitigation of its sorrows; in the other, the pound of flesh was exacted to the uttermost—loss of territory, loss of freedom, loss of domestic associations, loss of independent means of sustenance for themselves and their children, loss of everything but life. In conclusion, Lord Ashley said:—

> And yet, Sir, consider the difference of their claims. They were the sons of our hereditary foe; their father and grandfather, steeped in everlasting hatred to the British name, had warred against us for years with implacable fury; had wrought us enormous mischief, and sworn to extirpate us from the soil of India. Here are the sons and successors of ancient allies, men who have once been hostile and oftentimes friendly, to whom we owe much, but who owe to us little. Both, it is true, were taken in arms, but the one fight was the conclusion of a long, premeditated, and ferocious hatred; the other, the beginning and the ending too, of a short and unwilling hostility. Sir, we are often admonished, with oracular solemnity, that our empire in Hindostan is founded on opinion. Is it the opinion

of our justice, our humanity, or our power? A wise and patriotic Government would ardently pursue such a noble combination; and this House, by the fulness and promptitude of its reply to an injured sufferer, would compensate for the enormous, though inevitable, concession of despotic authority to the rulers of those distant regions. Sir, the generosity of absolute power is cheap and safe and honourable; true principle alone is of so attractive a nature as to lead many to believe that a really Christian empire would soon acquire the sovereignty of the world by the voluntary and eager resort of all nations under the shadow of its wings. Whether, by such means as these, Great Britain shall accomplish the dominion of the East, remains to be seen. We have not, I fear, made an auspicious beginning; but if we are to gain no more by virtue, let us not lose what we have by injustice. Let us hasten to wipe out the awful rebuke passed by them on their Christian conquerors

'Heu pietas, heu prisca fides!'

saying, as they were led away into captivity, 'Now we perceive that there is no hope for us of judgment or justice, until God Almighty shall sit in the last great *adawlut*.'*

Of the long and forcible indictment thus brought by Lord Ashley against the Indian Government, only a very brief summary has been given here. A journal that did not share in his views said of it: "The splendid speech of the noble mover was worthy of his humane and generous motive, and both were worthy of his high character."† Mr. Roebuck followed with a spiteful harangue, as usual abusing everybody all round; and, after the debate had run its length, Sir Robert Peel (the Prime Minister) defended the Indian Government, apparently basing his defence on the general

* Hansard, Debates, 3 s., lxxii. 364.

† *St. James's Chronicle*, March 8, 1844.

principle that uncivilised nations were made to be conquered. He certainly did say, "I am afraid there is some great principle at work wherever civilisation and refinement come in contact with barbarism, which makes it impossible to apply the rules observed amongst more advanced nations." He stated that the liberation of the Ameers was incompatible with the peace of India, but that they would be removed to a greater distance, where less restraint would be necessary, and £24,000 a year would be devoted to their maintenance and service.

The result of the motion is thus told by Lord Ashley in his Diary :—

Feb. 9th.—Wonderful success last night—*personal* success, I mean, alas!—in my motion respecting the Ameers of Scinde. But what is the use of making speeches which are admired and extolled? I obtained but sixty-eight votes against two hundred and two for the Government. Never did I see a more convincing proof of the pernicious effect of party on the moral sense: most were satisfied, indeed, some said so, and yet voted, because Peel did, point-blank against me! Peel, as usual, was narrow, and in a tone of morality lower, by far, than the ordinary run of Ministers; even John Russell rebuked him!

Roebuck's amendment ingeniously contrived to divert argument from my motion. It succeeded, and though my arguments were unnoticed, they had the advantage of being unanswered. A few Whigs with me; many against me. To be sure, I had been exposed to unusual solicitations to put off my motion; all sorts of men, both parties, friends, foes, but I was obstinate, and thank God for it!

Feb. 10th.—I am certain that Palmerston and John Russell, influenced a little by Peel's specious, though legitimate, policy, in declaring that he objected to Roebuck's motion, voted against me, because, as they had not read the papers, it was safer to vote with Government than in opposition to it; Palmerston I found really

ignorant of everything. But how wisely and mercifully God overrules all things! It had been suspected, and stated, that I had concocted this movement with the Whigs! Many Conservatives said to Jocelyn, 'We never gave such an immoral vote before.' Public opinion strongly with me. . . . Campbell, ex-Attorney-General, said to me, very kindly, 'Any jury in England would have given you a verdict.' Charles Wood said 'it was one of the best speeches I ever heard in Parliament, and so was the reply.' . . A Christian kingdom may refuse all intercourse with its neighbours, but if it open an intercourse and derive advantages, it cannot turn round when well satiated and exclaim, 'By-the-by, a thought strikes me, you are so abominably wicked that really I must exterminate you!'

The affairs of Scinde were not the only "foreign affairs" engaging the attention of Lord Ashley. A dispute between England and France, with reference to Tahiti (Otaheite), threatened, at one time, to be attended with disastrous consequences. Queen Pomare, the sovereign of the Island of Tahiti, a convert of English missionaries, had placed herself—by compulsion, it was alleged—under the protection of France, while her sympathies, and those of her people, were with England. There arose, in consequence, a coldness between the French residents and the islanders.

The French Admiral, who had beguiled or compelled the Queen into placing herself under the protection of the French, arrived off the coast, and demanded that the French flag should be hoisted above her own. Upon her refusing to do this, he pulled down her flag, hoisted that of France in its place, and proclaimed that Tahiti was henceforth French territory.

Pomare at once appealed to England; but France, while disavowing the act of the French Admiral,

considered that there was some intrigue on the part of England to obtain possession of Tahiti, and would not remove the French flag or cancel the proclamation claiming the island as French territory.

For some time affairs remained in this critical state, and then a further complication arose. An English missionary, named Pritchard, had exercised a very powerful influence in Tahiti, and had been successful in gaining many converts to Christianity, among whom was the Queen herself. For some time prior to her deposition he had been acting as English consul in the island.

One day a French sentinel was attacked. In reprisal Pritchard was seized as the mover and instigator of the disturbances by the natives, and D'Aubigny, the commander of the French establishment, declared: "His property shall be answerable for all damage occasioned to us by the insurgents; and if French blood is spilt every drop shall recoil on his head." Pritchard was thrown into prison, and upon his release was expelled the island. On his arrival in England, the story of his wrongs produced a profound sensation, and stirred public feeling into great excitement. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen both characterised his treatment as "a gross and intolerable outrage."

Satisfaction was demanded of the French Government, and M. Guizot, who, in the first instance, was loud in his condemnation of the French Government, was now equally loud in the profession of his anxiety and that of the King, that justice should be done

in Tahiti and a good understanding restored with England.

For some months there was great excitement; popular passion was hot on both sides, and war between France and England at one time seemed inevitable. However, on September the 5th—the last day of the Session—Sir Robert Peel announced that "the outrage on Mr. Pritchard, of Tahiti, had been arranged amicably." Substantial compensation was made to Pritchard, and Queen Pomare was ostensibly restored to power. France would not withdraw her "protection," however, and to all intents and purposes Tahiti became, in time, completely subject to French rule.

The course of these events was followed very closely by Lord Ashley, and a few collected passages from his Diary relating to them may be quoted here.

Feb. 21st.—Read last night, with indescribable pain, and yet every one might have foreseen it, that the French had taken full possession of Tahiti, deposed Queen Pomare, and seized the sovereignty. Thus has fallen the only kingdom which, from its head to its feet, in all its private and public relations, in all that it said, permitted, or did, was a Christian State, founded on the truths of the Gospel, and governed by the simplicity of God's word. Popery will henceforward reign without control, with all its train of spiritual, moral, and physical evils. What an inscrutable Providence! But England is without excuse. We might, humanly speaking, have averted this mischief. It lay most easily and most securely, two years ago, in Aberdeen's power. The sin is personal to the Ministry; national to our Church and people. But what can we say or protest as a nation? Will not they throw Scinde in our teeth?

Feb. 24th.—Wrote to Aberdeen a short note about Tahiti to assure him that it was far more than a question of the sympathy of a few Dissenters.

Aug. 3rd.—French aggressions and insults renewed in Tahiti; it is a barbarous people, or they would not so insult a helpless woman. Our Ministers are timid towards France and indifferent towards the welfare of Protestant Pomare. Had they been as their duty required, this could not have happened. Wrote to Peel on the 31st to say that I should put a question to him. Was anticipated by Sir Charles Napier, the Commodore. Peel, however, gave a vigorous answer, and talked of the 'outrage.' . . .

Sept. 12th.—The question of Tahiti, they say, is settled. Aberdeen has, of course, surrendered all that can be interesting to Protestantism.

Oct. 4th.—Grief and indignation cannot go beyond what I feel against the French aggressions in Tahiti. A peaceable and helpless people, a State presenting, as such, the only Christian model in the world, are subjugated by savages and powerful Europeans, and inundated with bloodshed, devastation, profligacy, and crime. God gave the regeneration of this island to our people as a triumph of the Cross; and so it was a thing without parallel in the history of the Gospel. The missionaries made it Christian; they made it English in laws and Constitution. It had, by God's blessing, under their administration, everything but power and commerce. But, failing these, it has obtained no sympathies, and in the hour of danger, perhaps of extinction, finds not a single friend. The infidel and lukewarm are indifferent; the Tractarians are hostile; the Evangelicals wary. Public men estimate its value by political measurements and the probable effects on their own ease and tenure of office. What a disgusting and cowardly attitude for England, thus to stand by and raise not a hand in defence of this merciful gift of Providence! God grant that the Tahitian people may endure and triumph over this fraud and violence.

Interest in affairs abroad did not distract Lord Ashley's attention from the more pressing affairs at home.

The demand for further limitation in the hours of labour had been urged by the working classes with increased vehemence, especially in Lancashire and

Yorkshire, between the Session of 1843 and the opening of Parliament in 1844. The reports of the Inspectors of Factories, issued from time to time, had been eagerly read by those who were interested in the welfare of the working classes; and the agitation, headed by Lord Ashley, was daily gaining fresh sympathisers, and, in the same proportion, was concentrating the enmity of those who were opposed to it. The time was ripening rapidly for the great struggle which was to end in victory.

On the 5th of February, Sir James Graham introduced into the House of Commons his promised Bill for the Regulation of Labour in Factories. It contained no education clauses, but provided that children should be allowed time in which to receive education. The further objects of the Bill were to ensure that the working-time for children should be reduced to eight hours, and for persons above the age of thirteen, to twelve hours a day. The definition of a "child" was extended to mean children between nine and thirteen; that of "young persons" remained as heretofore, namely, from thirteen to eighteen.

"I propose," he said, "that such young persons shall not be employed in any silk, cotton, wool, or flax manufactory, for any portion of the twenty-four hours longer than from half-past five o'clock in the morning till seven o'clock in the evening in summer, and from half-past six o'clock in the morning, till eight in the evening in winter, thus making thirteen and a half hours each day, of which one hour and a

half is to be set apart for meals and rest, so that their actual labour will be limited to twelve hours."

This was exactly what Lord Ashley did not want. His contention was that the hours should be limited to ten, and on that issue he would fight the battle to the end.

On the 12th of February the Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

Then went forth the rallying cry of "Ten Hours and No Surrender!" and it echoed through the length and breadth of the land. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Meetings were held, pamphlets were scattered broadcast, and all the paraphernalia of agitation was set in motion with a vigour that had never been known before. Twelve delegates were despatched to London to assist Lord Ashley in his labours, and nobly they worked. London and Westminster were divided into districts, and every Member of Parliament in these districts was canvassed, the working of the factory system explained, and its evils exposed.

One of the points which had often been called in question was the actual distances traversed by children in the course of their daily work. Lord Ashley had stated that it sometimes—nay, often—happened that they had to walk, or trot, from twenty-five to thirty miles a day, a statement that had been characterised as a "gross exaggeration," and altogether incredible.

An amusing incident in connection with this controversy is recorded by Mr. Philip Grant.* Two of the

* Grant's "History of Factory Legislation."

delegates—Mr. Haworth and Mr. Philip Grant—made a call in Carlton Gardens where Lord Palmerston was then living, and were denied an interview by the footman. The carriage was standing at the door, and Lady Palmerston was promenading on the balcony. It was evident, therefore, that their visit was most inopportune; but, as they might have no other opportunity of an interview before the division, they continued to urge the importance of their mission. "Whilst the altercation was going on, Lord Palmerston happened to be passing from his dressing-room to the dining-room, and seeing the two at the door, inquired who and what they were. The servant at once handed him their cards, and returned smiling, bringing with him the glad news: 'His Lordship will see you.' They were at once ushered into the large dining-room, at that time so much famed for the evening parties of Lady Palmerston and the munificent dinners given by his Lordship. They found the Member for Tiverton in excellent temper, dressed like a youth of eighteen, and as lively as a cricket. Without ceremony the subject was entered into, detailing some of the hardships to which the factory children were subject. The statements at first appeared to puzzle the noble Viscount, and after a short pause he said, 'Oh, the work of the children cannot be so hard as you represent it, as I am led to understand the machinery does all the work without the aid of the children, attention to the spindles only being required.' To carry conviction to a mind so strongly impressed with the ease and comfort

of factory labour, for a moment staggered the deputation, when a lucky expedient occurred to the writer, who, seeing a couple of large lounging chairs upon castors, brought them to the rescue. Placing them in the centre of the large room, they were made to perform the operation of the 'spinning-mule,' Mr. Haworth being placed, as it were, at the 'wheel handle,' and with arm and knee pushing them back to their destination, or to what is technically called 'the roller beam,' whilst the writer performed the duties of the piecer, trotting from one side of the room to the other, following up the carriage, leaning over the imaginary advancing 'faller,' and picking up the supposed broken ends. To complete the explanation of the mule, and to show the part the engine performed, they were about to explain by what power the carriage was caused to advance slowly, whilst the 'stretch' was being made and the yarn twisted. The noble Lord at once caught the idea, and, ringing the bell, the footman was ordered into the room, and directed to run up one of the chairs slowly to its appointed place (or what is called the end of the stretch), whilst the noble Lord, catching hold of the other chair, performed a similar office. Thus the imaginary spinning and piecing were carried on for several minutes. Lady Palmerston, who by this time had become impatient for her drive before dinner, entered the room, and appeared no little surprised to see her banqueting room turned into a spinning factory. Her ladyship, however, seemed to enjoy the illustration, and remarked, good-humouredly, 'I am glad to see your

Lordship has betaken yourself to work at last.' The veteran statesman, who appeared a little fatigued by performing the duties of 'Old Ned' (the engine), with significant look and shrug of the shoulders, said, 'Surely this must be an exaggeration of the labour of factory workers.' Mr. Haworth, who had come fresh from the wheel handle in Bolton, and bearing indelible marks of the severity of his daily toil, exhibited the large 'segs' upon his hands, at the same time, pulling up his trousers, he said: 'Look at my knee, my Lord,' and pointed to the hard substance produced by 'pulling up the carriage.' The victory over the mind of the great statesman appeared to be complete; the illustration given had deeply impressed his mind; and he exclaimed, heartily, 'If what you have shown me, and what you have stated, be a fair illustration of the labour of factory people, and the statements you have made be a fair detail of the hardships to which they are subject, I can no longer withhold my support from your cause, nor can I resist the belief that the children, as stated by Lord Ashley, have to walk or trot twenty-five to thirty miles a day. I will, however, speak with Lord Ashley on these points, and if your story be even half corroborated by him, you may rely on my support.'"

The statements were fully corroborated, and the support of Lord Palmerston was henceforth never wanting on behalf of factory children.

The course of events is thus noted in Lord Ashley's Diary:—

Feb. 27th.—Factory Bill postponed. Shall I ever prosper in this? Will God smile upon the endeavour? Heard that Mr. Bright was waiting for his opportunity to make a most violent attack on me. I dare say. . .

March 2nd.—Unpleasant rumours that Government (is it possible?) will exert their Parliamentary influence to defeat the Ten Hours!

March 4th.—Graham informed me this evening that 'if I would not make an adverse statement,' so as to provoke debate and a reply from him, he would grant the Committee. He clearly fears a full *exposé*. I answered that, as my statement was intended simply to prove the necessity of investigation, if the necessity were admitted, I should do wrong to detain the House by a long oration. Now, if he had told me this a week or two ago, as he well might, I should have been spared some very heavy reading and writing.

March 6th.—Moved for Committee last night in half a dozen words. Graham thanked me for my silence.

March 8th.—Strange accusation that in the *Times*. Surely a man wholly unconnected with the manufacturing districts was less likely to be influenced by hopes and fears, either commercial or personal, than one whose interests lay in the thick of them. I thought so myself when I undertook the charge. 'It would have been more graceful,' it adds, 'had I devoted my attention to agricultural grievances.' Why, that question was not uppermost, was barely thought of, when I laid hold of the factory wrongs in 1833—at that time the prominent topic of conversation. As for sacrifices: I have lost office and every hope of political aggrandisement by my adoption of this career; I have had years of trouble, anxiety, expense; I have foregone official income, though I much needed it, broken every party connection, and stand alone, like an owl in the desert, without knowing, day by day, whether I shall think or act with any one man or any one man with me. And what of all this? Why, I am, God be praised! more happy in my losses than I could possibly have been in any personal gain. 'Cast thy bread upon the waters,' says the Book of Books, 'and thou shalt find it after many days.' . .

March 9th.—The *Times* bepraises Sidney Osborne's letter to me, and adds: 'These factory ten-hours men never dreamed of agricultural wrongs until forced to it by their fears.' Eight years' exclusion

from the paternal house, and three of *utter impossibility to interfere* while there, will answer any imputations.

March 12th.—Had intended to take the chair at public dinner of Journeyman Tailors' Society (euphonious and dignified name!), but told by Cobden, as I entered the House, that he proposed to assail the county of Dorset. Obliged, of course, to send excuse, and sit out his speech—temperate and often true. Could not reply, taken by surprise, had no paper with me. This was unfair on his part; unwilling, too, to come into collision with Bankes; an unseemly sight, two county members sparring with each other; unwilling besides, by a vote, to come into collision with Lord S., who would assert that it was directed at him. No disguise on Cobden's part that he wished to pay me off for exposing the factory districts. Felt humbled, dejected, and incompetent. Had no heart within me. O God, let not mine enemies triumph over me! . . .

On March the 15th the Bill went into Committee, and, in the discussion of the clauses fixing the limitation of the hours of labour, Lord Ashley endeavoured to obtain his purpose by moving that the word "night" should be taken to mean from six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the morning, thus practically limiting the factory day to ten hours.

In support of his proposition, he made one of his most forcible, comprehensive, and interesting speeches—a speech which took two hours and a quarter in delivery, and occupies twenty-eight pages of Hansard.*

In his opening sentence, Lord Ashley gave utterance to that intense anxiety which, as the Diaries clearly reveal, weighed down his spirit as he approached the struggle. "Nearly eleven years have elapsed," he said, "since I first made the proposition to the House

* Hansard, 3 s., lxx. 483.

which I shall renew this night. Never at any time have I felt greater apprehension or even anxiety; not through any fear of personal defeat, for disappointment is 'the badge of all our tribe,' but because I know well the hostility I have aroused, and the certain issues of indiscretion on my part, affecting the welfare of those who have so long confided their hopes and interests to my charge." Disclaiming the accusation that he was actuated by any peculiar hostility against factory masters, he met them with the challenge, "Strike, but hear me." Taking for his standpoint the proposition that the State has a right to watch over, and an interest in providing for, the moral and physical well-being of her people, he proceeded to show what foreign powers were doing to recognise and enforce this principle. Then, expatiating upon the immediate application of this theme, he described minutely the amount of toil and exertion required in the various departments of factory labour, and the physical evils proved to have resulted from it, when too long continued. He entered fully into the question of the distances traversed daily by women and children, and gave evidence, founded upon measurements and calculations made, at his request, by one of the most distinguished mathematicians of the day, conclusively proving that those distances varied from seventeen to thirty miles, and that the exertion was materially increased by the strain of having continually to lean over the machine and then return to an erect position—a performance that had to be undergone not less than from

four to five thousand times a day. The physical effects of this toil upon women was disastrous in the extreme, and he adduced ample medical testimony in proof of his assertion, besides pointing to the results shown in the bills of mortality and the statistics of pauperism and disease. Nor were the moral effects less disastrous. He showed how impossible it was that the obligations of domestic life could be performed by females employed for long periods in factories. "Where, Sir," he asked, "under this condition, are the possibilities of domestic life? How can its obligations be fulfilled? Regard the woman as wife or mother, how can she accomplish any portion of her calling? And if she cannot do that which Providence has assigned her, what must be the effect on the whole surface of society?" He demonstrated, by incontrovertible facts and arguments, that this unnatural toil engendered every possible form of moral evil; intemperance, impurity, demoralisation were the inevitable consequences; all the arrangements and provisions of domestic economy were annihilated; dirt, discomfort, ignorance and recklessness were the portion of almost every household, when the time of the wife and mother was wholly monopolised by factory labour.

Such a system, affecting the internal tranquillity of the land and all relations between employer and employed, was a perpetual grievance, and must ever come uppermost in times of difficulty and discontent. It disturbed the order of nature, and the rights of the labouring men, by ejecting males from the workshop

and filling their places by women; it was destructive of the health of females, the care of their families, their conjugal and parental duties, the comfort of their homes, the decency of their lives, the peace of society, and the laws of God.

In conclusion, he repudiated, in tones of righteous indignation, the charge so often flung at him, that this contest was but a struggle between the country gentleman and the manufacturers, and that he was actuated by a wish to exalt the landed, and humiliate the commercial, aristocracy. He said:—

It is very sad, though perhaps inevitable, that such weighty charges and suspicions should lie on the objects of those who call for, and who propose, this remedial measure. I am most unwilling to speak of myself; my personal character is, doubtless, of no consequence to the world at large; but it may be of consequence to those whose interests I represent, because distrust begets delays, and zeal grows cold when held back in its career by the apprehension that those whom it would support are actuated by unworthy motives. Disclaimers, I know, are poor things when uttered by parties whom you listen to with suspicion or dislike; but consider it calmly; are you reasonable to impute to me a settled desire, a single purpose, to exalt the landed and humiliate the commercial aristocracy? Most solemnly do I deny the accusation. If you think me wicked enough, do you think me fool enough for such a hateful policy? Can any man in his senses now hesitate to believe that the permanent prosperity of the manufacturing body in all its several aspects, physical, moral, and commercial, is essential, not only to the welfare, but absolutely to the existence, of the British Empire? No, we fear not the increase of your political power, nor envy your stupendous riches; 'Peace be within your walls, and plenteousness within your palaces!' We ask but a slight relaxation of toil, a time to live, and a time to die; a time for those comforts that sweeten life, and a time for those duties that adorn it; and, therefore,

with a fervent prayer to Almighty God that it may please Him to turn the hearts of all who hear me, to thoughts of justice and of mercy, I now finally commit the issue to the judgment and humanity of Parliament.*

At the close of this appeal, Sir James Graham rose, and in a tone which he knew only too well how to use, declared emphatically that her Majesty's Government had determined to give the proposition of the noble Lord their most decided opposition. The mill-owners found an advocate in Mr. John Bright, who addressed the House at considerable length, and in a style "perhaps the most vindictive towards the working classes ever used in the British Parliament."† He ridiculed the notion that there was any need for a new Factory Act; he contradicted Lord Ashley's statements as to the unhealthiness and other miseries of the manufacturing districts; he violently attacked the whole body of operatives who supported the Ten Hours Bill; and he declared that high wages and general prosperity prevailed among the manufacturing population. Then, taking up the old libel as to the condition of the Dorsetshire labourers, he said Lord Ashley looked at Lancashire through a telescope, but when he looked at his suffering neighbours he reversed the glass. He reiterated the groundless charge that Lord Ashley's information had been obtained in an improper way, and from a notorious character, whose story was full of false statements and gross and malignant exaggerations.

* Speeches, p. 115.

† Delegates' report quoted in "History of Factory Legislation," p. 75.

This was more than Lord Ashley could bear, or would have been justified in bearing. He rose to his feet, and, aflame with impassioned earnestness, vehemently demanded a full explanation of the insinuations of Mr. Bright. The scene which ensued is still memorable in the annals of Parliament.

"I think," said Lord Ashley, "the House will feel that in some measure I have a right to make one or two observations on the remarkable speech of the honourable gentleman. I will thank the honourable gentleman to explain that charge against me which he has insinuated, and which he said he would not pursue. I will not allow it to pass. I therefore throw myself on the indulgence and on the protection of this House, and I do request all honourable gentlemen present to exert their influence, as members of this House, and as gentlemen, to make the honourable member for Durham pursue his charge, and state his case."

Loud cheers followed this challenge. Then, in evident confusion, and amidst loud expressions of disapprobation from both sides of the House, Mr. Bright at first attempted to deny that he had made any charge, and eventually concluded with an apology in these words: "I regret if in stating these things I have said a word that could be considered derogatory to the character of the noble Lord. I know I have a warm temper, but I meant no personal insult. I desired merely to state facts, and I readily withdraw any offensive expression."

It was then two o'clock, and, on the motion of Mr. Warburton, the debate was adjourned.

March 16th.—Factory Bill last night in Committee; moved, by arrangement with Sir J. Graham, amendment on word 'Eight' in second clause. Spoke for two and a quarter hours. Never had a greater weight on my spirits, and yet—God's everlasting goodness be praised—obtained astounding personal success. Francis Egerton made an excellent speech; and Sandon, for a wonder, came out manfully. Bright made a violent assault upon me, with insinuations, because he could not make charges; brought him to account and to apologies. What will be the issue? Had we divided last night, we should, I am told, have beaten the Government! The interval will be favourable to them; official whips will produce official votes.

March 17th.—Sunday. The anxiety and fatigue of the preceding week left me nervous and inattentive. Struck by the many texts I hear and read, of consolation and encouragement. Almost every book I have opened, and every passage of the Bible I have glanced on, have conveyed more or less of invigorating sentiment. Are there such things as Christian omens? If there be, surely they were here.

March 18th.—Jocelyn came to me yesterday, after morning service, and said that 'he had something important to communicate. Stanley had taken him aside on Saturday evening, and had urged upon him the mischiefs arising from the amendment for 'ten hours' that I had proposed. 'Ashley,' he added, 'does not know the condition in which he places the Government. If he carries his point, as it seems probable he will, two courses remain: we must either throw up the Bill, for Graham is pledged to carry it as it is, or throw it into his hands.' He then said a great deal more about the effect such success would have in aiding the repeal of the Corn Laws, and remarked: 'If Ashley is strong enough to beat the Government, he must take all responsibility; if he thinks himself strong enough to defeat them here, perhaps he thinks himself strong enough to take the Government.' Jocelyn said: 'What would you have Ashley do? He has given his life, you may say, to the question; what would you have him do? He could not surrender it.' Stanley replied in a drawling, uncertain tone: 'I don't know; I don't say what he could do.' The upshot was that Jocelyn, without delivering a direct

message, was to inform me of the Ministerial mind. He did so. I replied that 'if my perseverance involved the repeal of ten thousand Corn Laws, and the dissolution of as many Governments, I would go on with all the vigour I could command; that, were I disposed to hold back, I could not do so in the smallest degree; that even in a mere question of politics, a man would be regarded as a sad specimen of faithlessness who retired simply to gratify the convenience of his Parliamentary friends, but that in this case, when I had toiled for so many years, and placed the whole matter on the basis of duty and religion, I should be considered, *and most justly, too*, a hypocrite almost without parallel.' We rang the changes on all this, and Jocelyn went away. I saw him again in the street, just before I entered the Chapel Royal. 'I have seen Stanley again,' he said; 'he never thought you could resign the question; you were too deeply pledged.' 'It would be a sad thing,' continued Stanley, 'for the Government to appear as alone resisting the wishes and feelings of the people; it would look very ill to the country if the question had a majority in the House, but was rejected solely by the Government.' Then Lord Stanley added (*O tempora, O mores!*), 'What I meant was that you (Jocelyn) and your friends should not bestir yourselves so much to obtain votes, and Ashley might save his character by maintaining his point, and *yet allow himself to be beaten!*' If ever insult was put on an individual, here it was with a vengeance! I told Jocelyn that 'the only difference was whether I should be an open or a secret scoundrel.' I added that 'I would exhaust all legitimate means to obtain my end, and that if defeated, I would never cease to work on the sympathies of the country.'

On March the 15th the debate on the Ten Hours Bill was resumed, and the proposal of Lord Ashley was supported by Lord Howick, Mr. Becket (Leeds), Sir George Grey, Mr. John Fielden (Oldham), Lord John Russell, Mr. Hindley (Ashton), Mr. Hardy (Bradford), and Mr. Muntz (Birmingham).

The discussion was animated almost beyond precedent, and the excitement grew to a point of intensity,

when Sir Robert Peel, in a long and laboured speech, pointed out that other branches of manufactures required restriction more than the cotton, woollen, and silk factories, namely, the Sheffield and Birmingham wares, glass, porcelain, earthenware, calico printing, and, above all, dressmaking and needlework, and he maintained that by restricting labour in cotton factories, a premium was being placed on the laborious and cruel employment of women and children in these other manufactures. "Is the House prepared to legislate for all these people?" asked the Premier.

A tremendous cheer, and a cry of "Yes," answered the demand of the head of the Government.

Sir Robert Peel, evidently much astounded by this powerful and decisive response, continued: "Then I see not why we should not extend the restriction to agriculture." Another ringing cheer, from the agricultural members, again threw the Premier from his equilibrium, and Sir Robert Peel abruptly concluded his speech by declaring that he could not undertake a task which would involve so difficult and perilous an enterprise, above all human strength, and full of individual injustice. "I cannot, and I *will not*, acquiesce in the proposal of the noble Lord!" was the emphatic exclamation with which he sat down.*

Far-seeing as Sir Robert was in many things, he little dreamt that he had called forth a foreshadowing of Lord Ashley's future labours on behalf of the working classes.

* *Morning Post*, March 18, 1844.

Lord John Russell followed, and did good service to the cause by drawing attention to the fact that Lord Ashley's amendment introduced no new principle into the Bill, and that he (Lord John Russell) could not see what tremendous consequences would follow the limitation of labour in factories to ten hours when the Government themselves proposed a limitation, though to a somewhat longer period.

The division resulted in 179 votes for Lord Ashley's amendment and 170 against it, thus giving a majority of 9 for the amendment; but this vote the Government endeavoured, by a stratagem, to rescind by going at once to a division on the original question; calculating, in all probability, that, by taking a second division immediately upon the other, the result would be confusion, out of which they might make capital. The stratagem failed, the result being: For Lord Ashley's proposition, 161; against it, 153. Majority for Lord Ashley's proposition, 8.

In face of these two divisions, Sir James Graham determined to make another effort to rescind the votes. "Sir," he said, rising amid profound silence, "the decision of the Committee is a virtual adoption of a Ten Hours Bill without modification. To that decision, with the utmost respect for the opinion of the Committee, I have an insuperable objection." Whereupon he announced that he would not drop the Bill, but would proceed with it up to the eighth clause, when Lord Ashley would move that the word "ten" should be substituted for "twelve" hours. He therefore moved

that "You now report progress, and ask leave to sit again on Friday next."

March 19th.—Last night 'adjourned debate' on Factory Bill and division. Can I believe the result? 'It is a night much to be observed of the Lord.' Oh, gracious God, keep me from unseemly exultation, that I may yet creep alow by the ground to Thine honour, and to the recovery of the people from Egyptian bondage! The Red Sea is yet before me, the enemy are in pursuit, and the wilderness has shut us in; but we will, by His grace, 'stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.' He will cleave a path for us through the mighty waters, and ordain in our mouths a song of praise in the land of promise and of hope. My supporters wonderfully firm; had no whipper-in, yet they stuck to me admirably. The Government—that is, Peel and Graham—evidently out of temper. This seems as much the cause of their opposition as anything else. Their speeches, ingenious in argument, but wretched in principle and feeling, purely commercial: Peel urging a decay of trade; Graham, an abatement of wages. Neither touched my facts or arguments; but most unfairly Graham spoke a second time, and at great length, before others had spoken once. Peel argued, in fact, against all interference, and then appealed to the House on the merits of his Bill! denounced our legislation with factories as unjust, quoted the condition of thousands of children who are as yet unprotected (passing, in truth, on me the old sneer of the Millowners & Co., that I was one-sided), and speaking as Prime Minister, in detail, of all these horrors, declared that he had no thought of assuaging them. In the sight of God and man he abdicated the functions of Government. A curious division. My members included very many who represented the mightiest trading constituencies, and this on a *commercial* question!

The Ministers have signified their intention to try over again the whole question by a division on Friday next. The interval will be employed in every Government method of influence and coercion. What engine can I employ to counteract and extinguish their fire? They are unjust, bitter, headstrong, but powerful. I am alone, but I commit all to God, who will maintain His own work.

It is a wonderful event, an especial Providence; is there a precedent like it? A single individual, unaided by a party, with scarcely

a man whom he could trust to second him, has been enabled to defeat the most powerful array of capitalists, overcome the strongest domestic apprehensions, and the most powerful Ministry of the last fifteen years! Struggle as they will, the question is passed; it may be delayed in its final accomplishment, but surely it cannot be reversed. God give us faith, faith, faith! . . .

March 21st.—An oppressive weight appears to have been removed from my shoulders, and yet I cannot recover my elasticity. I feel like a man that has been stunned or bled. I am conscious of a change, but hardly of relief: partly the effect of long habit, partly the effect of the foreseen Government hostility (and their power is great!). I find no real comfort but in beholding God as the *author*, and, I pray, as the *finisher*, of this work in His blessed Son Jesus Christ. Ministers quite mad, using every exertion, no reasoning, no misstatement, no falsehood almost, spared! Expresses sent off the whole of Sunday. I offered to delay 'Ten Hours' for two years and a half. Every one satisfied except Peel and Graham, who are furious in temper.

On March the 22nd the debate on the Ten Hours Bill was resumed, and Lord Ashley, in a brief speech, in which he summarised, from the Reports of Factory Inspectors and other authorities, the vast moral and social benefits that would accrue from the curtailment of the existing system of excessive labour, concluded by moving that the blank in the eighth clause be filled with the word "ten."

A long discussion followed, in which Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Brotherton, Lord John Manners, Mr. Ward, Sir Robert Inglis, and Mr. Charles Buller took part, and at its close there was a majority of three (186 to 183) against adopting the word "twelve" as proposed by the Government. Lord Ashley's amendment that the word "ten" should be inserted in the eighth clause was then

put, when all who had voted for "twelve" now voted "No;" but, inasmuch as five who had previously voted "No" again did the same, confusion once more prevailed, and the result was that 188 voted against the amendment, and 181 for it, and it was lost by a majority of 7!

The stratagem of the Government had succeeded. The question was reduced to chaos. The Government proposal for a Twelve Hours Bill, and Lord Ashley's proposal for a Ten Hours Bill, had both been negatived, and the Bill was in extreme jeopardy.

In these circumstances, Sir James Graham postponed stating what the Government would do, and moved that the Chairman should report progress.

Lord Ashley bowed to the decision of the House, acknowledged that for the present he was defeated, but declared that he "would persevere to the last hour of his existence, and he had not the slightest doubt that, at no very distant time, he should, by God's blessing, have a complete victory."

March 23rd.—Last night victorious in rejecting Twelve Hours by 186 to 183; defeated in attempting Ten Hours, by 181 to 188! Yet the cause is mightily advanced. God, in His wisdom and goodness, demands a little longer trial of faith and patience. The consummation will then arrive, and it will be the more evidently seen to be His own work. House very kind. Charles Buller made an admirable speech. What ignorance of the House, of the country, and of mankind, have the Ministry shown. Feeling is very often far better than logic for a guide to conduct. What a patrimony had Peel: the especial protection of the working classes, and he has cast it away! The majority, in fact, included the larger proportion of manufacturing constituencies, and certainly the best of the

Government supporters. The House of Commons never saw, before these events, such an utter resignation of party-feeling on all sides to the assertion of a great act of humanity. The influence of Ministers, used unscrupulously and unsparingly, obtained at last but a majority of seven, and that not in support of their original proposition. . . .

March 25th.—*Globe* of this afternoon contains a most direct attack on me—'ambition, love of office,' &c., &c.—'the Prince of Canters.' What a scene in the House last night! The tiptoe of expectation, every one anticipating an Eleven Hours Bill. I was prepared to accept it, reserving to myself the power of moving whenever I pleased. It would have settled the question for at least two years. Graham, I am told, very hostile in Cabinet. Peel for it; determined, however, to resist. Graham notified his opposition, and signified that all who supported me were entering on a course of 'Jack Cade* legislation.' Indecent, foolish, and stupid; but he did himself thereby irreparable mischief. Consideration of Bill, or rather of withdrawal of it, deferred till Friday next.

March 26th.—Consultations without end; annoyances of all kinds; unabated anxiety. Prayed heartily for counsel, wisdom, and understanding.

March 27th.—Resolved to act in conformity with my first impression, and allow withdrawal of Bill. . . . Did so, and Graham pledged himself to bring in a new Bill. I can, therefore, do on *this* what I could not have done on the old Bill—take a debate and division on the simple question of ten hours!

It was generally anticipated that the Government would endeavour to effect a compromise by proposing an Eleven Hours Bill. When, however, it became known that Sir James Graham proposed to bring in a new Bill, and to stand doggedly to the Twelve Hours

* "H. B." published a lively caricature on this. Lord Ashley as Jack Cade, followed by Lord John Manners, Sir R. Inglis, and Lord John Russell, advancing against Sir Robert Peel and Sir J. Graham on the defensive.

principle, and when, moreover, he expressed this in words and actions which were intolerable, the excitement, especially among the operatives, became intense. The Committees united in memorialising the Queen against "the ill-advised perseverance in a course of cruelty and injustice, of your Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, who has avowed his intention of withholding all relief from oppressed women and children, and has sought to effect his object, by means most insulting to the faithful representatives of your Majesty's loyal subjects in Parliament, and tending to degrade the high office bestowed on him by your Majesty."

At this period of his career, Sir James Graham was one of the most unpopular men in the country. Except by a few personal friends, he was almost universally disliked; and it is not surprising to find in Lord Ashley's Journals some strong comments upon his character and conduct. The "novel and somewhat questionable course" he had pursued in endeavouring, by stratagem, to rescind the votes in favour of the Ten Hours Bill, had increased his unpopularity generally, and in a marked degree among the friends of factory legislation. But Sir James Graham had not yet shown the whole length to which he could go, when his will was thwarted; and in the near future he was to make a display of some of those qualities which kept alive his unpopularity. He had an overbearing manner, which in itself raised opposition; and, once having become convinced on any subject, his mind seemed to

shut its eyes, and he plunged deeper and deeper into partisanship. "He exulted, as a strong man, in the power he possessed, and sometimes," says his biographer, "it must be owned, its exercise savoured of tyranny."* It did so during this year, when the Factory Bill was the burning question in and out of Parliament; and the friends and foes of the movement were agreed in this perhaps more than in anything else—a common dislike to Sir James Graham.

"While no man more diligently or conscientiously devoted himself to his public duties," says his biographer, writing of this time, "or displayed more aptitude and ability in their performance, it cannot be denied that his personal unpopularity at this period was extreme. Why was it so, and what was the cause? The question was continually asked, and every one had a different explanation to give. 'How do you account for it?' said a mutual friend, standing one day below the bar, to a noble Lord whom Sir James had lately complimented highly in debate, and towards whom he had certainly never shown anything like disrespect. 'How? Why just look at him, as he sits there, with his head thrown back, and his eyes fixed on the windows over the gallery, as if there was nothing going on in the House worth his listening to.'" Another distinguished supporter, when asked why so many people hated him, replied, "He has cocked his hat on the wrong side of his head, and depend upon it that's a mistake not easily got over." There

* "Life of Sir James Graham," by T. M. Torrens, ii. 199.

was something more than this, however, to account for it. His manner, always uncertain, was frequently complained of by those who had occasion to see him on business at the Home Office. An old and attached friend, speaking of this period, says, "Though I never found him anything but courteous, considerate, and kind, others were certainly not so lucky. Whether it was impatience at having his time wasted, when there were a hundred calls upon it daily he could not satisfy, or whether it arose from unconscious faults of manner, it is certain that he had become the most unpopular man in the Government. You could not go into the Carlton without finding some self-important country gentleman half inarticulate with rage at the way in which he had been treated 'by that intolerable coxcomb, whom Peel had been fool enough to put at the Home Office, and whom he was resolved never, so long as he lived, to speak to again!' . . . To the arts of conciliation he seemed to think it unworthy of a Minister to stoop. To policy or reason he was ready to concede, but amid clamour he grew sulky, and his answer to threats was generally conveyed in a tone that savoured so much of arrogance and scorn as to render their reiteration certain. He would initiate change, if the initiation were left to him and those he acted with. It was not his way to do anything by halves; but having once made up his mind to a particular line of conduct, his disposition led him to pursue it, unmindful of importunity or deprecation. There was in him, it must be owned, sometimes too much of a haughty and imperious mood, which especially

betrayed itself in his demeanour as a Minister. He seemed as though he were haunted by a morbid fear of appearing (as he phrased it) 'to be hustled into doing anything by the mere pressure from without,' so long as he believed that pressure could be resisted. He spoke and acted in public like one who fancied it a duty to flout demagogism, and to overawe the voice of querulous or menacing remonstrance." *

It is true that this was not the whole man. In the home circle he was another being, but, as his biographer adds, "The man who was idolised by his family and beloved by his friends, from the moment he crossed his own threshold appeared to assume a repellent air and mien, as though he were haunted by the fear of being intruded on." †

In the interval afforded by the Easter holidays, between the withdrawal of Sir James Graham's Bill and the introduction of a new one, Lord Ashley, longing for a few days' repose, went on a short visit to Dover; but the Diaries reveal how little real rest there was for him while the great question on which his heart was set was pending.

April 3rd.—Dover. . . . Read the Bible with the boys; a useful and agreeable morning; beautiful day; walked to the top of Shakespeare's Cliff; enjoyed the scene, the refreshing air, the hope of renewed strength, and fuller service. . . . Home at seven, very tired. I often think, when fatigued, how much less my weariness must be than that of the wretched factory women. It has, at any rate, this good result—that I feel and make additional resolutions to persevere in their behalf.

* "Life of Sir James Graham," ii. 227.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 272–3.

April 4th.—I know not what feeling predominates when one paces these shores and surveys the fortresses. All now seem quiet —nay, almost lifeless; yet, a generation ago, superhuman activity and unprecedented alarm made man and nature rivals in destruction. With what sentiments of thankfulness, what confessions of sin, what remorse for oblivion of mercies, ought we to stand on this protected beach and contemplate the opposite shores; not a hostile foot—though millions panted for our ruin—trod upon our soil; every hour of existence as a nation was a fresh mercy. . . .

April 5th (Good Friday).—Do what you will you cannot so entirely banish the past and disregard the future as to make the mind rest solely, simply, exclusively on the present hour. 'This is the day that the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it.' Much do I desire it, but I am haunted, and I know I shall be haunted, by debates, divisions, spectres of attacks, defences, failure, success. I am of a very nervous and excitable temperament; an impression once made is not easily effaced; it hangs to me like a conscience. . . . As I taught the little children to-day, it seemed to me wonderful in how small a compass is contained the whole sum and substance of Christian religion. Volumes without end, years of study, years of controversy, immense thought, immense eloquence all expended, and mostly wasted, to dilate or torture that which may be comprehended by the understanding, and relished by the soul, of a simple child. What will all the learning in the world, all the meditation of the profoundest spirits, add to the plain facts of the fall of man and his salvation by Christ? Little but perplexity and the embarrassment of that which is intrinsically simple!

April 6th.—Mill-owners have got out a manifesto contradicting me on every point, and specially on 'the distances.' I hold to my statements. If I be refuted, my career as a public man is over; I could never again make a speech in the House of Commons or elsewhere. I should be proved to be as near to a liar as a man can well be, short of the actual dealing in falsehoods. . .

April 12th. — Panshanger. Rode with William Cowper to Watton. Saw Bickersteth.* Rejoiced to have some conversation with him; he is full of faith, and truly and dearly loves our Lord

* Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts.

and Master. But there are few, like him, proof against temptation and expediency in the hour of trial. . .

April 15th.—Wrote a few days ago a challenge to Greg and Ashworth to meet Fielden and Kenworthy and superintend the re-measurement of the distances. Will they accept it or no? I think not. However, I shall, thank God, have a triumph in either case. If they attend, I must prove my accuracy; if they refuse, I shall prove their dishonesty. . .

There was a long paper warfare on this subject. The letters are still in existence, but it would be needless to quote them here. Suffice it to say that the challenge was evaded, and the accuracy of Lord Ashley's statement was proved by incontestable evidence.

The subject was one upon which he had evidently taken immense pains to be strictly precise; there are many notes among his papers to show this. Here is one, apparently of a date earlier than the present controversy :—

A TABLE *showing the distance over which a Piecer must walk daily in attending a pair of Mules, spinning Cotton-yarn of* 40 *hanks in the pound, at Bolton-le-Moors, the Piecers being usually of the ages of* 14 *to* 21.

The Spinner "puts up" 2,000 stretches daily on each of two Mules, each Mule being eighteen yards long, and there being three persons to attend to them.	No. of stretches spun daily.	No. of yds. from Mule to Mule.	No. of yds. Piecer travels along Mule per stretch.	Total No. of yds.	Miles.	The distance from Mule to Mule will vary a little in some Mills, owing to a scarcity or abundance of room.
	4,000	5	6	44,000	25	

Sir Robert Peel saw, or thought he saw, a way out of the difficulty connected with Lord Ashley's Factory measures. It is referred to in the following entry:—

April 17th.—London. Well, what next? Can I believe my ears? Old Bonham* informed me (stating, while he did so, that it was almost a breach of confidence, inasmuch as no hint of any sort or kind was to be given) that Peel had determined to offer me the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, *with almost unlimited powers*, in respect especially of the Church. It came out very naturally, arising from a conversation in which we were engaged; he lamenting that my position rendered office impossible, and that such a state of things was a loss to Government in general. Peel, he said, had told him, and Graham confirmed it, that no one in the kingdom could effect such good in Ireland; no one but myself could grapple with the landlords and the prelates and maintain, against influence, the rights of the working clergy. He had, he added, done wrong in mentioning it; it might have the appearance of wishing to abate opposition by such an offer. He trusted to my saying nothing. No one but himself, Peel, and Graham had any idea of the scheme. I listened in silence and astonishment; a little gratified, *but not at all in doubt.* I quite admitted that I could, probably, do more with the Irish clergy than most men at present. I said no more. He argued, and somewhat urged. Silent, not offended, not puffed-up, not beguiled, *fully resolved never to do or accept anything*, however pressed by the strong claims of public necessity and public usefulness, which should, in the least degree, limit my opportunity or control my free action in respect of the Ten Hours Bill. Peel had told him that he *would not even breathe the subject* until after the Factory Bill had been disposed of. God give me a right judgment in all things! O God, grant that I may never be seduced by any worldly motive to abandon truth and mercy and justice! Keep me from all specious patriotism, and alike from all fear of man's reproach! . . .

April 22nd.—One thing now perplexes and annoys me. I perceive, or fancy that I perceive, within the last few months, a great diminution of intellectual power. I have no energy, no command.

* Bonham was "whip."

If I attempt to speak, my utterance is unsteady. I have no flow of ideas, and not much more of language. I feel no confidence, no hope, no satisfaction. I positively dread the necessity of presenting even a petition. I never open my lips without a prayer to God, and yet I tremble at the duty. All this adds greatly to my sorrow.

April 23rd.—Which is the more wicked, a covert or a bare-faced rogue? Peter Borthwick went this evening to Henry Baring (who told me of it the instant after the transaction) and made a proposal. 'Would you like to hear,' said Baring to me, 'a specimen of public virtue? Peter Borthwick has just said to me, "I have a motion to-night; pray keep me a House. You remember how I voted on the Factory Bill. I voted *against* the Government. Now, if you will keep a House until I shall have made my speech I will vote *for* the Government." Do not show me up,' said Baring. How can I march through Coventry with such a tale as this?

On the 3rd of May leave was obtained to bring in a new Bill, and the occasion was utilised by Mr. Ward (Sheffield), Mr. Roebuck, and Captain Rous, to make a series of attacks upon Lord Ashley. The Bill was so worded that it would not admit of any amendment being proposed on any of its clauses, and it was therefore necessary for Lord Ashley to give notice that he would move the introduction of a new clause to the effect that no young person should be employed more than eleven hours a day, or sixty-four hours a week, and that from October 1st, 1847, these numbers should be reduced to ten hours and fifty-eight hours respectively.

It was a night, as he says, "of trouble and rebuke."

May 4th. . . . I was the direct and indirect target. They fired at me without mercy, and left me, like a portrait of St. Sebastian, shot through and through by their arrows. Had not intended to make any reply; perhaps I felt incompetent, as I always do now. Strong

in my cause and conduct, weak in my capacity. Ward's accusation against my knowledge, my statements, my veracity, rendered an answer inevitable. What kind of answer? Not one of declamation, but one of facts, that involved much reading of documents, and at half-past ten at night! Why did not Ward make his attack before? But as a man, wishing to be thought a man of honour, I could not decline the challenge. Alas for my necessity! I began and ended amid cries of 'Question' and 'Divide.' Appeal was in vain. The House had heard Ward and Roebuck, but it would not hear me, and I spouted my papers with a heavy heart, a parched mouth, a feeble voice, a faltering tongue, and a hopeless pertinacity—a spectacle of present and future exultation to those who hate me and seek my confusion. I am certainly conscious of a decline in physical and mental energy during the last three months; the fact I perceive, I cannot arrive at the cause. I have had no sense of comfort from above; I have seen no pillar of a cloud by day or of fire by night; my spirits do not rally; fears seem to have obtained undisputed possession of my whole system; I labour under a notion of solitude without external aid or internal assurance; what or whence is it? . . . I have yet before me another conflict. I am languid, weary, diffident; many assail, and no one defends me; I am utterly without resource; I neither possess nor seek the 'arm of flesh.' I tremble at the prospect. I never felt so forlorn as I do now. What is it? I had an inward conviction of support in every other case; in Collieries, in Education, in Opium; here alone I have never experienced a cheering thought, an invigorating grace. Am I right in my purpose? Is it according to God's will? . . .

In moving the introduction of the new clause on the 10th of May, Lord Ashley set himself to the task of meeting the objections that had been urged against the Ten Hours Bill on commercial grounds—namely, that it would cause a diminution of produce; that there would take place a reduction, in the same proportion, of the value of the fixed capital employed in the trade; that a diminution of wages would ensue to the great

injury of the workmen; and, lastly, that there would be a rise of price, and consequent peril of foreign competition. Having examined and refuted these arguments, he continued:—

> Sir, this House is now placed in a novel position; it is summoned to rescind its resolution, not because new facts or new conditions have appeared, but because the Minister has declared his hostility. Nothing has been stated that was not stated before—no fresh knowledge communicated, no unseen dangers discovered. The House is summoned to cancel its vote, not upon conviction, but to save a Government. . . . Sir, the whole question of representative Governments is at stake; votes have been rescinded before, but never such as this. You are almost declaring, to those who are your ordinary friends, they shall never exercise a vote but at the will of the Minister. This is a despotism under the forms of the Constitution; and all to no purpose; for your resistance will be eventually and speedily overcome, but your precedent will remain.

In concluding his vigorous denunciation, he uttered prophecies which, singularly enough, were soon to be fulfilled to the very letter, although the causes leading to those results were then entirely unknown. He said:—

> The feeling of the country is roused; and so long as there shall be voices to complain and hearts to sympathise, you will have neither honour abroad nor peace at home, neither comfort for the present nor security for the future. But I dare to hope for far better things—for restored affections, for renewed understanding between master and man, for combined and general efforts, for large and mutual concessions of all classes of the wealthy for the benefit of the common welfare, and especially of the labouring people. Sir, it may not be given to me to pass over this Jordan; other and better men have preceded me, and I entered into their labours; other and better men will follow me, and enter into mine; but this

consolation I shall ever continue to enjoy—that, amidst much injustice, and somewhat of calumny, we have at last lighted such a candle in England as, by God's blessing, shall never be put out.

As soon as the loud and continued cheering ceased, Sir James Graham rose, and for once appeared to be unequal to the task of answering the arguments arrayed against him, endorsed as they were by so many of his own party and supporters. And it may be noted, in passing, that, although the debate lasted for two nights, there was no one in the House who even attempted to overthrow the arguments adduced by Lord Ashley. It was evident to the Ministry that a crisis in its history had come, and Sir James Graham declared it in these words :—"Sir, I shall not be unjust towards the noble Lord, whatever others may be; and I am quite satisfied that the cause which he has advocated this evening can never fall into the hands of a better advocate. I am quite satisfied that his motives are of the highest and purest nature, and he is no less an able and powerful advocate than I believe him to be a sincere one. He has, however, said, that her Majesty's Government seek to exercise a tyranny upon this occasion. Now, Sir, with humble submission, I say that I am quite prepared to bow to whatever decision this House may come to upon this question, but I can conceive no tyranny greater;—none greater upon the part of the Crown, and I should certainly say that it would be the extreme of tyranny on the part of a popular assembly, to expect that any Minister should remain responsible for the conduct of public affairs when the representative

assembly of the nation, bearing so large a portion of the whole power of the Government of the country, demands a course to be taken which that Minister, in his judgment and in his conscience, believes to be fatal to the best interests of the country. I must say, with perfect submission and perfect frankness, that I leave this case to the decision of the House; but with equal firmness, and with equal frankness, I am bound to state that, if the decision of the House should be that the proposition of the noble Lord should prevail, it will be my duty to seek a private station, hoping that the decision of the House may be conducive to the welfare of the country."

The debate was continued with great animation, Lord Howick, Mr. Bernal, Mr. C. Buller, Mr. Ferrand, Mr. Muntz, and others, supporting Lord Ashley; and Mr. Liddel, Mr. G. Knight, Mr. Mark Philips, and Mr. Roebuck, opposing him. Mr. Roebuck, who was always a strong enemy to Factory Legislation, distinguished himself by giving utterance to one of the most violent speeches ever heard in that House, even from him.

At one o'clock the debate was adjourned.

May 12th.—Sunday. At last a day of repose! Have been in a whirl by night and by day—occupied and anxious all day; sleepless, or if sleeping, like a drunken man, all night; my head quite giddy, and my heart absolutely fainting; too much to do, in quantity, in variety, and importance. Delivered at last, by God's especial mercy, on Friday night, of my burden, not only *without failure*, as I felt at the time, but also *with honour*, as I learned afterwards. Oh, what trouble, time, and perplexity removed!

The adjourned debate was resumed on Monday, May 13th. It was evident that the great Parliamentary

struggle upon the subject was approaching its end; the fate of the Ministry was trembling in the balance.

Among the speakers was Mr. John Bright, who again gave the hottest opposition, while Mr. Macaulay, who had hitherto voted against all legislation on the subject, now declared himself in favour of the Ten Hours Bill, and supported it in one of his brilliant orations. But the case was doomed when Sir Robert Peel, having addressed the House for upwards of two hours, concluded by saying, "I know not what the result may be this night, but this I do know—that I shall, with a safe conscience, if the result be unfavourable to my views, retire with perfect satisfaction into a private station, wishing well to the result of your legislation."

This was decisive. In the face of such a contingency there were many who felt they could not do otherwise than vote against the measure they approved, in support of a Ministry whose malevolent action in threatening to break up the Administration unless the House of Commons rescinded the vote it had given in favour of the Ten Hours Bill, they disapproved. On the question being put, the House divided. Ayes, 159; Noes, 297. Majority against Lord Ashley's amendment, 138.

It was a crushing defeat, but it was evident to all the friends of the movement that the future triumph could not much longer be delayed; and Lord Ashley left the House reiterating his determination to renew the subject at an early date.

May 14th.—Last night defeated—utterly, singularly, prodigiously defeated by a majority of 138!! The House seemed aghast, perplexed, astounded. No one could say how, why, and almost *when*. It seemed that 35 or 40 was the highest majority expected. Such is the power and such the exercise of Ministerial influence!! . . .

May 15th.—The majority was one to save the Government (even Whigs being reluctant to turn them out just now), not against the question of Ten Hours. . . . Freemantle went from one member to another assuring them of Ministerial danger, and thus each man believed that his own vote was the salvation of the Government.

May 16th.—Dined last night at the Lord Mayor's feast. Found much sympathy, as I do everywhere. This great majority far better for the question than one of, say, 25. It proves that there was no division *against the principle*, but one to save the Ministry; it begets, too, a high reaction. Called on to return thanks for the House of Commons. Did so, but expressed slight surprise that *I* should have been summoned to *that* duty at that particular moment, adding, however, that the House 'consisted of a body of gentlemen who would, on all occasions, do what they (here was charity!) *considered* to be their duty.' Well received. Peel and Graham tried to make fair weather with me afterwards. Did not rebuff them, though I could not *feel* either friendship or esteem. . . Amply satisfied now that I permitted the withdrawal of the Bill. Should have been defeated by an equal majority, and the question would have been ended for the Session. But what should I have lost? The interval has produced all these public meetings, all the witnesses they exhibited, all the feeling they roused, not only throughout those provinces, but the whole country, and, finally, I have obtained a debate and division on the true issue of the *Ten Hours*, not on a mere technicality. Have I not, moreover, saved the Bill with all its valuable clauses about machinery and female labour? A withdrawal or a vigorous resistance to it would have prompted the Ministers to proceed no further; an amendment, stoutly maintained in committee on the *second Bill*, would have deterred them from the third reading. It is now gone to the House of Lords. O God, prosper it!

'Cast down, but not destroyed.' I feel no abatement of faith, no sinking of hope, no relaxation of perseverance. The stillest and darkest hour of the night just precedes the dawn. 'Though it tarry, wait for it,' believing that God sends you a trial, and yet bears you

up with a corresponding courage; and, although you may pass not the stream of Jordan, it is something that God has permitted you to wash your feet in the waters of the promised land.

It is interesting to learn from contemporary sources what was the impression left on various minds by these stirring incidents, especially when these impressions were made on minds holding opposite views.

One specimen only can be given here. Mr. Charles Greville says :—*

"I never remember so much excitement as has been caused by Ashley's Ten Hours Bill, nor a more curious political state of things, such intermingling of parties, such a confusion of opposition; a question so much more open than any question ever was before, and yet not made so or acknowledged to be so with the Government; so much zeal, asperity, and animosity; so many reproaches hurled backwards and forwards. The Government have brought forward their measure in a very positive way, and have clung to it with great tenacity, rejecting all compromise; they have been abandoned by nearly half their supporters, and nothing can exceed their chagrin and soreness at being so forsaken. Some of them attribute it to Graham's unpopularity, and aver that if Peel had brought it forward, or if a meeting had been previously called, they would not have been defeated; again, some declare that Graham had said they were indifferent to the result, and that people might vote as they pleased, which he stoutly

* C. C. Greville's "Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria, 1837-52," vol. ii., p. 236.

denies. Then John Russell voting for 'Ten Hours,' against all he professed last year, has filled the world with amazement, and many of his own friends with indignation. It has, I think, not redounded to his credit, but, on the contrary, done him considerable harm. The Opposition were divided—Palmerston and Lord John one way, Baring and Labouchere the other. It has been a very queer affair. Some voted, not knowing how they ought to vote, and following those they are accustomed to follow. Many who voted against Government, afterwards said they believed they are wrong. Melbourne is all against Ashley; all the political economists, of course; Lord Spencer strong against him. Then Graham gave the greatest offence by taking up a word of the *Examiner's* last Sunday, and calling it a 'Jack Cade legislation,' this stirring them to fury, and they flew upon him like tigers. Ashley made a speech as violent and factious as any of O'Connell's, and old Inglis was overflowing with wrath. Nothing could be so foolish as Graham's taunt. He ought to have known better how much mischief may be done by words, and how they stuck by men for ever. Lyndhurst rubbed his hands with great glee, and said, 'Well, we shall hear no more of "aliens" now; people will only talk of "Jack Cade" for the future,' too happy to shift the odium, if he could, from his own to his colleague's back. The Ministers gave out, if they were beaten last Friday, they would resign; but they knew there was no chance of it. Some abused Ashley for not going on and fighting again, but he knew well enough it would be of

no use. The House did certainly put itself in an odd predicament, with its two votes directly opposed to each other. The whole thing is difficult and unpleasant. Government will carry their Bill now, and Ashley will be able to do nothing, but he will go on agitating Session after Session; and a philanthropic agitator is more dangerous than a repealer, either of the Union or the Corn Laws. We are just now overrun with philanthropy, and God knows where it will stop, or whither it will lead us."

The Bill passed to the House of Lords as a Government measure. It was warmly opposed by Lord Brougham on the third reading, but it became law on the 6th of June, 1844.

During the time that this great and memorable struggle was proceeding in Parliament, the whole country was in a state of great agitation. Friends of the cause held meetings in all the large towns to support the action of Lord Ashley, whose movements the factory operatives and their friends watched with intense interest and anxiety. Among those who greatly assisted him in his labours were Mr. B. Jowett, Mr. W. B. Ferrand, Mr. John Wood, and Mr. William Walker, of Bradford, while eminent clergymen, dissenting ministers, medical men, tradesmen, and operatives, vied with one another in placing at the disposal of Lord Ashley evidence to assist him in his arguments, and sympathy to aid him in his toil. To the press he was greatly indebted; and Mr. Walter, in the columns of the *Times*, gave very material aid to the cause.

The new law, although not giving all that was required, was yet a distinct gain, as it acknowledged and established a new principle—namely, that adult female labour ought to be restricted.

Soon after these events, the political world was thrown into a state of great excitement by the rumoured resignation of the Ministry. On the 14th of June the Government were defeated in Committee on the Sugar Duties Bill, by a majority of twenty; and at a Cabinet Council, held two days later, it was settled that Ministers would resign unless the House accepted the Bill as originally framed. On the 17th, Sir Robert Peel held out the threat of resignation unless the House of Commons rescinded its vote of the 14th, a course which Mr. Disraeli described as "dragging his supporters unreasonably through the mire," and denounced as a species of slavery, inasmuch as, at every crisis, he expected that his gang should appear, and the whip should sound. "The Minister," he said, "deserved a better position than one that could only be retained by menacing his friends and cringing to his opponents."

The result of the division was a majority of twenty-two (233 to 255) in favour of the Ministry!

Twice in one month had Sir Robert Peel summoned independent and responsible men to rescind their votes, a course that Lord Ashley described as "neither constitutional, loyal, politic, nor Christian-like." He wrote a private letter to Peel on the subject, as follows:—

Lord Ashley to Sir Robert Peel.

June 18, 1844.

My dear Sir Robert,—During ten years of active and anxious opposition I, with many others, devoted all my efforts (feeble, it is true, but most sincere) to bring you to the great and responsible station you at present occupy. I had no purpose of my own to serve, nor have I now; but I cannot control the feeling which overpowers me, nor withhold an expression of sorrow, that the political confidence which began so long ago, and has been, I protest, faithfully observed on my part, should at last have received so fatal a shock. I wish to speak openly, and I prefer this mode of a private letter to a public declaration in my place in Parliament.

When you summoned the House of Commons to reverse its vote on the Factory Question, much as I hated the proposition and dreaded the precedent, I was disinclined to go further than a few remarks which duty required of me; the case touched me too nearly, and I feared the influence of temper. A second instance, however, and in a matter where I personally have no concern, has forced me to consider my future conduct in respect of a Ministry which avows and enforces such perilous principles.

I have no sensitive apprehensions of a gradual, though silent, approach to a more open system of trade; I should be prepared to go with you further, in many points, than you have hitherto gone; but I do entertain very deep and painful apprehensions of the issues of such a system as you developed last night. I think it unconstitutional and tending to dictatorship, under the form of free government. I am unwilling to use the several terms my reflection suggests, by which I should designate the policy in its aspects towards the country, your supporters, and, above all, the Queen. I can think of it only with astonishment and grief, convinced that the mischief now done is irreparable, and destined to hasten the evil day which, in God's just anger, has long impended over us, and yet might have been averted. I do not speak from any personal resentment, because I am not one of those to whom your remarks were addressed.

I gave no vote on Friday—I stayed away from the House—being inclined to support Mr. Miles, and yet disinclined to oppose you.

I pursued the same course on Monday; but the speech you then made, and the events which followed it, have rendered it impossible that I should continue to entertain the hopes and feelings of former days; and duty, perhaps, demands that I should not conceal from you my opinions.

Very faithfully yours,

ASHLEY.

The above letter is thus alluded to in the Diary:—

June 20th.—Wrote a private letter to Peel yesterday. Hesitated long whether to do so. Determined at last in the affirmative, because it is right to undeceive a leader who believes, or may believe, that one is an unqualified admirer and supporter; and because, if all would tell Peel the truth, which he never hears, he might be wiser and better. But how placed is that man! Experience, it seemed, was about to do something for him; the debate in the Commons, the cast-down looks of his friends, the misgivings of his own conscience; —truth, in fact, was about to reach him, when, yesterday, a number of time-servers and trucklers met together at the Carlton, voted, unanimously, an address of unlimited confidence, and turned aside the conviction which might have led Sir Robert to nobler things. He is now satisfied, because a hundred unauthorised men have 'represented' the sentiments of thousands who think otherwise! . . .

The following was Sir Robert Peel's reply:—

Sir Robert Peel to Lord Ashley.

WHITEHALL, *June* 20, 1844.

MY DEAR LORD ASHLEY,—I hear, with sincere regret, both on public and private grounds, that the course taken by the Government on the question of the Sugar Duties induces you to withdraw from the Government that confidence and support which were given by you from pure and disinterested motives, and of which they were justly proud.

I thank you sincerely, at the same time, for having conveyed to me your feelings and intentions in a manner least calculated to

aggravate the pain which the intimation of them must necessarily give.

Believe me, my dear Lord Ashley,

Very faithfully yours,

ROBERT PEEL.

Referring to the above letter, Lord Ashley noted in the Diary:—

June 22nd.—Peel wrote a kind reply, but assuming that I had totally withdrawn all support. I replied that I should still vote for most of his measures, but could repose no great confidence. That I should never seek a leader among the Whigs. He rejoiced upon that, and expressed his great satisfaction.

But I have done good; his tone is altered; he has spoken in a conciliatory manner, and, in fact, cried 'peccavi.' I cannot doubt that my letter has materially contributed to it. He knows that though I have few followers in the House, I have many who think with me in the country. But, alas! the mischief is done, it can never be repaired. A wiser policy may retard, but it cannot prevent, the consummation. I am deeply, deeply grieved. I tremble for the issue to the nation, and I cannot forget ancient friendships, ancient hopes, ancient co-efforts with Sir R. Peel. So, as usual, I am victimised for the public good. . .

Among the measures of this Session was the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, relating to the condition of property vested in Unitarian trustees for religious and charitable uses. Soon after the Reformation, the Act of Uniformity had rendered illegal any gift for such uses, except to the Church of England. This restriction was removed by the Toleration Act of William III., as far as Trinitarian Nonconformists were concerned; but Roman Catholics and Unitarians were exempted from the benefit. They, however, were relieved by statute

in 1813. There was one exception to these acts of toleration still outstanding. It was that which "left endowments under deeds of gift which did not specify sectarian tests of application, to be interpreted by courts of equity as they might deem fit, on the doubtful balance of proof as to the opinions of the donor; although the effect of such decision might be to divest a congregation of the place of worship, the cemetery, and schoolhouse they had uninterruptedly held for fifty years."

The Dissenters' Chapels Bill was designed to set at rest the doubts and the ceaseless litigation occasioned by the anomalous state of the law; and although stoutly opposed by the Church and by evangelical Dissenters, it was carried, and passed into law before the end of the Session.

In addition to this Bill, a lengthened debate on the condition of Ireland, and, later, on the Irish Church, occupied much of the attention of Lord Ashley during the Session, and frequent reference to these questions is made in his Diaries.

Feb. 24th.—Debate on Ireland closed this morning at a quarter past three, after nine nights of discussion; result favourable to the Government, unfavourable to Church. Peel and his colleagues amply justified their administration of Ireland, and their conduct in respect of the repeal movement and O'Connell. The Protestant Church was furiously and brilliantly attacked, and most feebly defended. Every argument, ingenious and true, urged against it; scarcely one advanced in its behalf. The Ministers declared their resolution to uphold it, but assigned no reason which could conciliate any one affection or satisfy any one doubt. John Russell said truly that 'all their prospective difficulties were but as feathers in the scale compared with the magnitude of the existing evil.' The Church,

in fact, is assailable on twenty points, defensible only on one, and that one is, that it testifies and teaches the truth. This ground the Peel Ministry will never take, and therefore, say what they will, they will warm no hearts, and appeal to no principles, and will have nothing but dry, shop-like details of possible, or probable, inconveniences, to set against the stirring and dazzling facts and sentiments of the complaining party. I, for one, could not support the Church in Ireland, on the sole grounds taken by Sir Robert Peel. . . .

Feb. 27th.—Never did I hear such a speech from a Minister! never may I hear such another, as that last night from Sir R. Peel on the Irish Church! If the Church is defensible on those grounds only, I, for one, will vote against it. Half an hour of surprise that Roman Catholics did not act up to the engagement of 'acquiescing in the Church arrangements,' and half an hour in ringing the changes upon this: 'I assume there must be an Established Church; the Roman Catholic offers me one set of terms, the Protestant another; I prefer the Protestant;' and here was his conclusion: 'I will not surrender the Irish Church except' (with my life?) 'under some *overwhelming necessity* of public policy!' What, thou Minister! does the Church, then, rest on no principle? The arguments of the whole clique have a strong affinity in form and disposition on every subject. Sir W. Follett said, on the Dissent Bill, that though a Trinitarian might have founded a Chapel, we had no reason to believe that he wished those who came after him to preach the same doctrine! and that inexplicable statesman, Mr. Gladstone, intimated that all Dissent tended to Socinianism, and that a vast portion of the founders were, in fact, Unitarians!

June 28th.—Dissenters' Chapels Bill read a third time and passed. Privately objected to a division, but was overruled.

July 16th.—Lords last night affirmed Dissenters' Chapels Bill by a majority of 161!!. . . A public man, holding my position and entertaining my views, and bepraised (for I cannot say 'supported') by a certain portion of the religious community, is oftentimes in serious embarrassments. Some plan is proposed; he is required to assist it; he urges against the possibility, or expediency, some deductions of his experience; he is secretly suspected, or openly accused, of want of faith, self-seeking, or relying on an arm of flesh; he exercises no judgment, and falls into the scheme; he is baffled,

and mischief ensues, both to the cause and to himself in reputation for common-sense. Will these gentlemen define the rules and the situations in which human judgment may be safely and lawfully exercised?

July 17th.—The assertion of principle, even, may be so timed as to be injurious. We must consider the many who are weak and timid, though well-intentioned. They are effectually discouraged by abortive attempts, and not easily rallied. Thus we lose support when we need it, and make them 'to offend.' . . .

The condition of the lunatic population of the country, notwithstanding the legislation of 1828, still left very much to be desired. In 1842 Lord Granville Somerset had asked leave to bring in a Bill to extend the Metropolitan system of inspection to the provinces, and to appoint barristers as Inspecting Commissioners, who should devote themselves exclusively to the service, it having been found that the supposed annual visits of magistrates frequently never took place at all. Lord Ashley supported the Bill, which passed into law in July of that year.* The Metropolitan Commissioners, now invested with larger powers, thoroughly investigated the state of the English and Welsh asylums, and presented to Parliament in 1844 a valuable report, fitly called "the Doomsday Book of all that, up to that time, concerned Institutions for the Insane." It revealed a deplorable state of things, however, in many asylums, notwithstanding the various Acts of Parliament that had been passed; but its publication laid the foundation for wiser and more comprehensive enactments, in the passing of which Lord Ashley was to take a leading part.

* Hansard, 3 s., lxi. 806.

He notes in his Diary :—

July 2nd.—Finished, at last, Report of the Commission in Lunacy. Good thing over. Sat for many days in review. God prosper it! It contains much for the alleviation of physical and moral suffering.

It has been well said that the services which Lord Ashley rendered to this cause alone, would have carried his name down to posterity in the front rank of English philanthropists. His untiring labours in connection with it ceased only with his life.

On the 23rd July he brought forward a motion for an address to the Crown, praying her Majesty to take into her consideration the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Lunacy, as, in the following Session, the statute under which they acted would expire. He called upon the House to consider in what form and to what extent power should be confided to an administrative body for the government of lunatics throughout the kingdom, and stated that "it was the duty of the House to prescribe the conditions under which a man should be deprived of his liberty, and also those under which he might be released; it was their duty to take care that for those who required restraint, there should be provided kind and competent keepers, and that, while the patient received no injury, the public should be protected." In commenting upon the immunity from visitation of houses for single patients, he said: "A power of this kind ought to be confided to some hands that would hunt out and expose the many horrible abuses that at present prevailed. No doubt there were

many worthy exceptions, but the House had no notion of the abominations which prevailed in those asylums. It was the concession of absolute, secret, and irresponsible power to the relatives of lunatics and the keepers of the asylums, and exposing them to temptations which he believed human nature was too weak to resist." There was the temptation to keep patients from recovery, because the allowance (often as much as £500 per annum) would then cease. So strong was his opinion of the bad effect of this, that, if Providence should afflict any near relative of his with insanity, "he would consign him," he said, "to an asylum in which there were other patients and which was subjected to official visitation." The only control they had over single houses was, that if patients resided more than twelve months in one of these, the owner of the house must communicate the name of the patient to the Clerk of the Commission. This rule was either disregarded, or evaded by removing the patient every eleven months.

The second class of houses to which he called attention was the county asylums.

The total number of lunatics and idiots chargeable to unions and parishes on the 1st January, 1844, was 16,821 : in England 15,601 ; in Wales, 1,220. In county asylums there was provision for no more than 14,155 persons, leaving more than 12,000, of whom there were in asylums under local acts 89, in Bethlehem and St. Luke's 121, in other public asylums 343, while others were disposed of otherwise, leaving in workhouses and elsewhere 9,339. Although a few of the existing county asylums were well adapted to their purpose, and a very large proportion of them were extremely well conducted, yet some were quite unfit for the reception of insane

persons. Some were placed in ineligible sites, and others were deficient in the necessary means of providing outdoor employment for their paupers. Some also were ill-contrived and defective in their internal construction and accommodation. Some afforded every advantage of constant supervision, and of not giving any profits to the superintendents, so that it was not necessary that the keeper should stint and spare his patients in the articles necessary for the curative process, with the view of realising a profit.

After specifying certain admirably managed county asylums, he pointed out that twenty-one counties in England and Wales had as yet no asylum whatever. The expense of construction was one cause that had operated to check the multiplication of these institutions, some asylums having been erected on too costly a scale, and others being much too large. It was far better to erect two establishments of a moderate size in different parts of a county, than one enormous central building.

In speaking of the private asylums, which, on the previous 1st of January, contained 4,072 patients, Lord Ashley pointed out the evil of a system by which a profit had to be made by the superintendents out of pauper patients, who were taken in at a rate as low as seven or eight shillings a week. It often happened that an old mansion, transformed into an asylum, was the residence of the superintendent and a few private patients, while the paupers were sent into offices and out-buildings.

After pointing out some of the glaring cases of cruel neglect and ignorant and brutal treatment, detailed in the Report, he said :—

To correct these evils there was no remedy but the multiplication of county asylums, and if advice and example failed, they ought to appeal to the assistance of the law, to compel the construction of an adequate number of asylums over the whole country. If constructed, however, on the same principles as had been adopted in many of those now existing, they would be little better than useless, and mere hospitals for incurables. Great benefit, it was to be observed, as well as great saving of expense, resulted from the application of curative means at an early stage of insanity.

The keepers of all the great asylums stated that numbers of persons, especially pauper lunatics, were sent there at so late a period of the disease as totally to preclude hope of recovery. It was the duty of the State to provide receptacles for the incurable patients, apart from those devoted to the remedial treatment; it would be necessary also to enact that the patients should be sent without delay to the several asylums.

He then adduced many facts and statistics to show the importance of treating lunacy in its early stages, as, where the practice had been adopted, the most beneficial results had followed, while an opposite policy led to confirmed madness, with little or no chance of recovery.

Turning to the question of restraint, he paid a high tribute to "those good and able men, Mr. Tuke, Dr. Hitch, Dr. Corsellis, Dr. Conolly, Dr. Vitrè, Dr. Charlesworth, and many more, who had brought all their high moral and intellectual qualities to bear on this topic, and had laboured to make the rational and humane treatment to be the rule and principle of the government of lunacy."

Lord Ashley concluded his speech in these words:—

These unhappy persons are outcasts from all the social and domestic affections of private life—nay, more, from all its cares and duties—and have no refuge but in the laws. You can prevent, by the agency you shall appoint, as you have in many instances prevented,

the recurrence of frightful cruelties; you can soothe the days of the incurable, and restore many sufferers to health and usefulness. For we must not run away with the notion that even the hopelessly mad are dead to all capacity of intellectual or moral exertion—quite the reverse; their feelings, too, are painfully alive. I have seen them writhe under supposed contempt, while a word of kindness and respect would kindle their whole countenance into an expression of joy. Their condition appeals to our highest sympathies,

'Majestic, though in ruin;'

for though there may be, in the order of a merciful Providence, some compensating dispensation which abates within, the horrors manifested without, we must judge alone by what we see; and I trust, therefore, that I shall stand excused, though I have consumed so much of your valuable time, when you call to mind that the motion is made on behalf of the most helpless, if not the most afflicted, portion of the human race.*

On the assurance of Sir James Graham, that the matter should receive attention next Session, Lord Ashley, after a short debate, which served to draw public attention to the subject, withdrew his motion.

Mr. Sheil spoke in the debate, on the condition of criminal and pauper lunatics in Ireland, and concluded with a eulogy upon Lord Ashley in these words: "It is a saying that it does one's eyes good to see some people, and I may observe that it does one's heart good to hear others; one of those is the noble lord. (Cheers.) There is something of a *sursum corda* in all that the noble lord says. Whatever opinion we may entertain of some of his views, however we may regard certain of his crotchets, there is one point in which we all concur—

* Hansard, 3 s., lxvi. 1257. Shaftesbury's Speeches, p. 144.

namely, that his conduct is worthy of the highest praise for the motives by which he is actuated, and for the sentiments by which he is inspired. (General cheers.) It is more than gratifying to see a man of his high rank, not descending, but stooping from his exalted position, in order to deal with such subjects—not permitting himself to be allured by pleasure or ambition, but impelled by the generous motive of doing good, and by the virtuous celebrity by which his labours will be rewarded. It may be truly stated that he has added nobility even to the name of Ashley, and that he has made Humanity one of 'Shaftesbury's Characteristics.'" * (Much cheering from all sides.) †

July 24.—Last night motion on Lunacy—obtained indulgent hearing. The speech did its work so far as to obtain a recognition from the Secretary of State that legislation was necessary and should be taken up in my sense of it. Sheil made a neat allusion, by way of compliment, to my great-grandfather's works. He added, too, 'the noble lord's speaking is a *sursum corda* kind of eloquence;' this is the most agreeable language of praise I have ever received; it is the very style I have aimed at.

July 25.—My friend, the *Times*, in character as usual, charges me with weakness. How can I be otherwise, not having in the House even a bulrush to rest upon? 'No politician! no statesman!' I never aspired to that character; if I did, I should not be such a fool as to attack every interest and one half of mankind, and only on the behalf of classes whose united influences would not obtain for me fifty votes in the county of Dorset or the borough of Manchester. 'Rides but one hobby at a time!' Of course; a man who cannot afford to keep a

* It will be remembered that the third Earl of Shaftesbury was the author of the well-known book called "Characteristics of Men and Manners."

† *Times*, July 24, 1844.

groom, if he be rich enough to have two horses, must ride them alternately. I have no aid of any kind, no coadjutor, no secretary, no one to begin and leave me to finish, or finish what I begin; everything must be done by myself, or it will not be done at all.

Exceptional as were the public demands, in variety and extent, upon the time of Lord Ashley, he did not allow the claims of private and social life to pass unrecognised. How he managed to get through his labours, is a mystery only to be understood by those who have made a study of the economy of time. It was a mystery to himself, and he makes frequent entries in his Diary like the following:—

So grievously hurried that I have not time to record anything. Hurried in body and mind; longing for a few days of repose. In bed late; up early.

There are scattered throughout the Diaries, however, very graphic indications of matters that were filling his mind with joy or sorrow; of duties and engagements accomplished, and of plans and projects for the future. In the early part of this year he placed his eldest son at school in the Isle of Wight; and a glimpse of his fatherly solicitude is given in the following entries:—

January 2nd.—Dear Antony is about to start for school. I cannot bear to part with him; he is a joy to me.

March 4th.—What a blessed letter Minny received from Antony this morning! So simple, and yet so deep in its feeling and its truth. Oh, well can I understand the gracious and precious wisdom, the more than manly intelligence, that shone in the hearts of Josiah and King Edward! O God, make him, like Samuel, to walk before Thee, in youth and in age, with joyful obedience, unwearied service, and ever-increasing love.

June 28th.—Yesterday to Isle of Wight to fetch Antony, and to-day returned with him. Praised be Thy holy name, O God, for all Thy mercies to us and to him! I found him well, happy, and full of gracious promise. Minny went with me, and also Francis, Maurice, and Evelyn. Very expensive; but we had incautiously made the promise. Children hold much to such engagements; and the loss of money is of less account than the loss of confidence. Admirable school; all the care of solicitous parents, with the encouragement of every manly thought and exercise. His master is watering the seed that, by God's grace, I was permitted to plant; He alone can, and will, give the increase.

The claims of friendship were not lost sight of in the pressure of other engagements.

March 17th.—Minny and I saw Mrs. Fry yesterday on the bed of sickness. Kissed her hand to show my respect and love. That woman has, assuredly, been called to do God's work, and love her blessed Lord and Master. May He yet spare her for further service, and then take her to Himself.

It was only when a demand was made upon his time that could do no more than gratify his own personal pleasure, that he refused to comply with it.

June 12th.—The Emperor of Russia is here, and firing away in visits. Have never in my public life been more hurried than during last month; not an hour to do anything, not a minute to reflect. God grant that my engagements be good, for they are all-absorbing! Would have given a great deal, as the phrase is, to talk to the Emperor; did not succeed. Saw him at Chiswick; fine-looking man, though old for his years; an accomplished and skilful performer, shrewd and penetrating, knowing his audience, and supple enough to bend to all their habits and requirements. Transmitted to Kew on the Saturday evening (he sailed on Sunday), through Brunnow, an address in behalf of the Jews, signed by the Bishops of Ripon and Winchester, Lords Luton, Roden, and myself, Sir T. Baring, Sir G. Rose, McCaul, and a few others. 'Charlotte

Elizabeth'* the mover and agent of the proposition. I had disapproved of attempts to obtain personal interviews, &c., thinking the Czar had a right to his *incog.* if he pleased, and that we ought not to take him at an advantage. The memorial, however, being laid before me, I could not refuse to attach my name, but on three conditions :—1st, that no reference was made to any past events, so as to imply a censure; 2nd, that no personal interview was to be demanded; 3rd, that it should be presented the last thing before his departure. Address admirably drawn.

It was not until August that Lord Ashley obtained the rest he had so long desired; and even then it was but partial repose. On the 3rd of August he reached Ryde, in the Isle of Wight; but the entry following this record shows that on the 7th he "hurried up to town to be sworn in as Commissioner in Lunacy—heard and resolved to expose some shocking Welsh cases." Then back again to the Isle of Wight; but it is clear that his mind was otherwhere.

August 10th.—Visited Parkhurst to-day with Jebb.† What a harvest of misery and sin; actual sin, prospective misery. Vain, very vain, these corrective processes; yet they must be attempted, and duty must lord it over hope. One heart may be touched, and one soul may be saved; and it is worth all the trouble and all the expense. But how ignorant and how criminal is the nation—quite as ignorant, and far more criminal, than these wretched boys—which permits, by its neglect, these tares to be sown, and then tediously labours to uproot them!

August 17th.—Long and solitary walk by sea-shore; much and agreeable meditation. Thought over the example and history of

* "Charlotte Elizabeth" (Mrs. Tonna), a popular writer, especially for the young. In her Factory and Jewish stories she gave an account of Lord Ashley's aims and exertions, and greatly popularised them. "Judah's Lion" was one of her tales that had an exceptionally large circulation.

† Colonel Jebb was head of the Convict Department.

Daniel as a model and guide for statesmen. The scantiness of his biography much to be regretted in this sense—his position and conduct as Minister of the Empire of Babylon, a beacon and a pole-star for the helmsmen of modern kingdoms. He ruled a nation of religious belief diametrically hostile to his own. What was his policy? What his action? A right understanding of this great and good man's government would open the eyes and smooth the path of a ruler in Ireland! You would learn how Ministers can deal with religionists of a different complexion, leave an established faith untouched by power, and yet retain their own integrity.

A few days later he paid a visit to St. Giles's House.

August 23rd.—St. Giles's. 'Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand.' Left all my kids, Antony excepted, at Ryde. My heart misgave me as I saw baby straining her darling little face through the bars of the pier to get a last sight of us. 'I commit them unto God, and to the word of His grace.' . . . Here I am in perfect solitude, an immense house, a wide garden, hardly the step of a human being, and no sound but that of a distant sheep-bell; it is a moment to reflect on God's prodigious and undeserved goodness to me and mine. 'What am I, and what is my house, that Thou hast brought me hitherto?'

August 28th.—Heard this morning of the death of W. Fry.* I am deeply grieved; a worthy man, a friend of the poor, and a devout believer. It is a most serious loss to those who desire to see many and mighty improvements in public and private conduct. I am indebted to him for requesting me to undertake the Opium Question, and for immense aid in the execution of it. I had hoped for still further aid in the next Session.

Sept. 2nd.—Ryde. To Portsmouth to see the gun-practice of the *Excellent*, commanded by my old friend Sir T. Hastings. . . . If the Government and nation would show half the zeal to defend themselves from the Devil that they do from the French, we should speedily become a wise and an impregnable people. . .

* William Storrs Fry, son of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry.

Towards the end of September came the renewal of anxiety and work in a journey through the factory districts.

Sept. 26.—May God turn the hearts of the mill-owners and give me grace in their eyes! What a blessing were I quit of this undertaking, and able to direct my efforts to other and untrodden fields! Glad to be with my ancient and well-beloved friend Lady Francis;* I ever remember her in my prayers. They have built a fine house here; they have done well to plant themselves, despite of the unpleasant neighbourhood, in the midst of their duties and responsibilities. Many people of wealth would have fled to brighter spots; may God bless them in their dwelling with years of peace and usefulness!

Sept. 27th.—I see by the papers that Dunn, the proprietor of the Chinese Collection, is just dead. Thus I have lost in six weeks two men (him and Fry) who most ably assisted me in the Opium Question. How mysterious are the ways of God! Well did old Hooker say: 'The little we perceive thereof we darkly apprehend and admire; the rest with religious ignorance we devoutly and meekly adore!'

The campaign of Lord Ashley in the manufacturing districts was very arduous, but it was well worth all the toil. He saw, as he had never done before, how many of the mill-owners, desperate in adversity and unthinking in prosperity, were playing with men as with ninepins. He saw, in other cases, a growing readiness to accept a limitation of hours to eleven, if not to ten, on the ground that it would be physically and morally desirable. He went minutely into the question of "distances" travelled during the day by the operatives, and found that, despite the contradictions, he had rather understated

* Lady Francis Egerton, afterwards Countess of Ellesmere. She was a sister of Mr. Charles Greville. Lord Francis Egerton's place was Worsley, near Manchester.

than overstated them. He perambulated the towns to see for himself the actual condition of the people, the filth and pallidness of house and person, and he summarises some of his thoughts and plans thus:—

Oct. 17th.—Manchester. Returned yesterday morning. Great hiatus in notes of life and thoughts; very busy. What have I done or seen? Must put in order for easier recollection. Saw at Gawthorpe the two brothers of Shuttleworth—very pleasing and excellent youths; great zeal in that house for the working-people; may God prosper it! Much work and good wages in all parts: hand-loom weavers even in affluence; wages advanced in many places. Will it last? There are many experienced men who shake their heads; I have repeatedly asked the cause (on human calculations) of this activity; have never received an approximation to an answer—the operatives themselves distrust the period. Horner tells me there are 300 new investments (great and small) of capital in the cotton trade, which will partly show themselves in nearly fifty new mills. When will the time arrive at which prosperity will show itself in the erection of fifty new churches? Saw Dugdale's magnificent mill at Lower-House, also his print-works. Saw, too, the fine works of Mr. Thomson, near Clitheroe. An infinite number of small children in these works for the luxury of men. This must be my next undertaking; 'Feed my lambs' is the command of our blessed Lord. May He give me grace to conceive and execute a plan for the advancement of His adorable Name, and for the welfare, temporal and eternal, of many thousand souls. God helping me, I will go to it in the very next Session. . . Went on 11th to Bradford. Put up with Minny and W. Cowper at Walker's house. Peace be to that house—peace of body and of soul—and to all that dwell in it. Saw the mill; *can* one view it, *ought* one to view it, without tears of thankfulness and joy? Order, cleanliness, decency, comfort, reciprocal affections prevail; there are the spirit and language of Boaz, and the spirit and language of his servants—500 children, under thirteen years of age, are receiving daily the benefits and blessings of a bringing up in the fear and nurture of the Lord. What a power to possess, what a design to execute! The little things broke into a loud cheer; it went to my very heart. Heard them conclude the studies

of the day in united and touching prayer; the form was beautiful, and the singing reached the soul. . .

Lord Ashley met the Lancashire Central Short-Time Committee, and a few of their friends, at the Brunswick Hotel, to receive an address. In thanking them for it, and for their appreciation of his services, he paid an eloquent tribute to all the workers who had aided in the agitation, and particularly to Nathaniel Gould, of Manchester; the late Michael Thomas Sadler; John Wood, of Bradford; Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Fielden, Mr. Oastler, and Mr. Bull, men who, "when the question was surrounded with greater hazards than it is at present, did not fear to come forward and declare, in the face of contempt, and prejudice, and power, that, by the aid of God's blessing, they would strive against every difficulty, and persevere until they had brought the struggle to a successful termination."

In reviewing the position of the question, and contrasting it with that of sixteen years before, he enumerated some of their gains, which were: an enactment limiting the labour of children to six hours a day; protection against accident, death, and mutilation, from the unguarded state of machinery; and the important provision that no woman, of whatever age, should be employed in any mill or factory more than twelve hours a day. He explained to those who were not conversant with the forms of the House of Commons, the difficulties that had beset the matter in the last Session of Parliament, showing how the Bill was in constant jeopardy and how a false step would have caused the loss of it, the

object being to preserve the Bill, in order to get what good they could from it, and at the same time to remain faithful to the main principle of the Ten Hours. In concluding, he denied that he was the enemy of the factory masters, or of the factory system. "I am an enemy of the abuses," he said, "but not of the system itself," and he exhorted them to go forward with strength and resolution, promising, on his own part, that he would persevere with an unbroken and determined spirit until a happy consummation of their united labours should be reached.

During this visit a deputation waited on Lady Ashley at the Albion Hotel to present her with an address in which her self-sacrifice was recognised, and the aid she had given to the cause, in consoling and sustaining their leader in his arduous toil, was gratefully acknowledged.

Oct. 19th.—London. Have called on many master-spinners. Hear that they are gratified. Did so before I met operatives. Addressed a body last night. Admirable meeting; urged the most conciliatory sentiments towards employers; urged too the indispensable necessity of private and public prayer if they desire to attain their end. Told what I felt, that unless religion had commanded my service I would not have undertaken the task. It was to *religion*, therefore, and not *to me*, that they were indebted for benefits received! What a place is Manchester—silent and solemn; the rumble of carriages and groaning of mills, but few voices, and no merriment. Sad in its very activity; grave and silent in its very agitation. Intensely occupied in the production of material wealth, it regards that alone as the grand end of human existence. The operatives, poor fellows, to a man, distrust this present prosperity. Have visited print works, Mr. Thomson's, Clitheroe; Mr. Dugdale's, near Gawthorpe; Mr. Field's, Manchester. Thirty-five thousand children,

under 13 years of age, many not exceeding 5 or 6, are worked, at times, for 14 or 15 hours a day, and also, but not in these works, during the night! Oh, the abomination! Now, therefore, God helping me, I will arise and overthrow this Philistine. Oh, blessed Lord and Saviour of mankind, look down on the lambs of Thy fold, and strengthen me to the work in faith and fear, in knowledge, opportunity, wisdom, and grace!

Soon after his return to London, Lord Ashley began to revolve in his mind the programme for the Session, and resolved that he would devote his energies, in the first place, to the Ten Hours Bill, to a Bill for the Protection of Children in Calico Print-Works, to a Lunacy Bill, and, after that, to such other matters as occasion offered.

His Diaries at this time are very full, and a few extracts will show the current of his thoughts and the scope of his aspirations:—

Oct. 26.—Everything now is rushing at the 'landed proprietary;' its overthrow is aimed at, *illuc cuncta vergere*. The comparative prosperity of other branches of industry brings forward agriculture in invidious contrast, and this feeling will continue, and perhaps increase, until the day of manufacturing convulsion. Entails, primogeniture, large estates, &c.: all to be got rid of. Many even of the Conservatives incline that way; they perceive difficulties in our social state, and catch at any solution. If so, the thing will be done, and God prosper the issue! But strange it is that all improvement and salvation should be found in the overthrow of the "*landocracy*," while the enormous accumulations of banking, trading, milling are to be petted and praised as the very fountains of universal joy! . . . Shall be much criticised and hated for the character of my speeches to the workpeople; am, nevertheless, satisfied that I am quite right. The 'time' that I seek in their behalf must be considered and treated as the seed of 'eternity;' if it be not so it will *certainly* be useless, and *probably* lead to evil. This has been my

object from the beginning, to persuade the working man to reverence the religion which prompts toil, anxiety, endurance, and self-denial on the part of others for his sake. . .

Oct. 30th.—London. Fogs, smoke, muffin bells. Much need of *internal* light and joy; very little *external*, yet promise myself occupation and amusement even. Must look up Societies, Committees, &c., and attend Police Courts. Must define clearly to my own mind what I shall aim at just now, and confine myself, if possible, to it.

Nov. 3rd.—Sunday. Windsor Castle. Arrived yesterday. Attended service in St. George's Chapel; exquisite chanting; cold and comfortless discourse, and yet better than the one I heard some two or three years ago. Queen and Prince Albert at private chapel in Castle. . .

Nov. 9th.—Good deal of business. No repose. Sittings renewed in Lunacy. What a scene of horrors! If such be the condition of things under all our inspection, law, public opinion, and the whole apparatus of 'philanthropy' (what a sad word!), what must it have been formerly, and what would it be again in a state of pure principle of non-interference? Long interview with Roper, secretary to Society for Protection of Needlewomen. I find, as usual, the clergy are, in many cases, frigid; in some few, hostile. So it has ever been with me. At first I could get *none*; at last I have obtained a few, but how miserable a proportion of the entire class! The ecclesiastics, as a mass, are, perhaps, as good as they can be under any institution of things where human nature can have full swing; but they are timid, time-serving, and great worshippers of wealth and power. I can scarcely remember an instance in which a clergyman has been found to maintain the cause of labourers in the face of pew-holders. . . .

Nov. 15th.—All sorts of things. First, I do not quite flourish in town at this time of year. Good deal of work. Very little air and exercise, and yet no repose. The loss of my periodical exercise on horseback is very sensible. I am the worse for it. Met Pottinger at dinner yesterday and to-day; he is an opium man; denies many of the evils, and contends for the legalisation of the trade! I talked to him a good deal, and, strange to say, he seemed to know very little about it; nevertheless, there will be an aptness of men's minds to accept and believe him, and I shall pass for a fanatic and an exaggerator.

Nov. 18th.—Visited Peckham Asylum on Saturday last. Long affair—six hours. What a lesson! How small the interval—a hair's breadth—between reason and madness. A sight, too, to stir apprehension in one's own mind. I am visiting in authority to-day. I may be visited by authority to-morrow. God be praised that there are any visitations at all; time was when such care was unknown. What an awful condition that of a lunatic! His words are generally disbelieved, and his most innocent peculiarities perverted; it is natural it should be so; we know him to be insane; at least, we are told that he is so; and we place ourselves on our guard—that is, we give to every word, look, gesture a value and meaning which oftentimes it cannot bear, and which it never would bear in ordinary life. Thus we too readily get him in, and too sluggishly get him out, and yet what a destiny!

Nov. 21st.—Went yesterday to Rugby to examine the physical and moral aspect of the place and see whether it would be a good school for Antony. Hope—nay, think it will do; universal testimony, so far as I hear, in its favour from all who have sons there. Saw Dr. Tait, and Cotton, the tutor; both advised the age of fourteen as, on the whole, the best; much, said they, will depend on the position he takes when he enters the school; 'The great advantages we offer are found in the higher grades; every advance in rank is regarded by the boys as involving an increase of responsibility.' I fear Eton; I dread the proximity of Windsor, with all its means and allurements; dread the tone and atmosphere of the school; it makes admirable gentlemen and finished scholars—fits a man, beyond all competition, for the drawing-room, the Club, St. James's Street, and all the mysteries of social elegance; but it does not make the man required for the coming generation. We must have nobler, deeper, and sterner stuff; less of refinement and more of truth; more of the inward, not so much of the outward, gentleman; a rigid sense of duty, not a 'delicate sense of honour;' a just estimate of rank and property, not as matters of personal enjoyment and display, but as gifts from God, bringing with them serious responsibilities, and involving a fearful account; a contempt of ridicule, not a dread of it; a desire and a courage to live for the service of God and the best interests of mankind, and by His grace to accomplish the baptismal promise: 'I do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess

the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under His banner against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end.'

Graham has asked me to undertake the Lunacy Bill, promising to treat it as a Government measure. Prodigious work! but cannot refuse to lighten the burden on a Minister's shoulders. Agreed on condition of *full Government support* in every respect. Oh, that I might prosper and do something for those desolate and oppressed creatures!

Nov. 26th.—Many starving people in the streets; an alms here and an alms there very unsatisfactory; no effectual or permanent good done; a very small iota of the mischief abated. It makes me miserable, never absent from my thoughts, like having a bad taste always in one's mouth. Where is the root of the evil? It cannot be inevitable to have so many poor. Poverty, of course, we must have, but not, surely, deep and extensive destitution. It is wrong, awfully wrong, that so many able-bodied and willing labourers should want employment and bread. What can be done?

Nov. 28th.—Heard that Sir C. Napier was carrying 'judicial' murder in Scinde! Do not doubt it. The country was acquired by fraud, insolence, and bloodshed, and, as Sallust says, must be maintained by the same means! Will it be given to me to prosper in my three works—Time Bill, Print-Works Bill, Lunacy Bill? Shall I, by God's blessing, taste the fruit of these labours? I fear not. Thoughts of a great scheme for relief of people pass through my mind. Would it be a measure of relief, or an aggravation of distress? Repeal duty on tea to one-sixth of present amount; sugar the same; repeal the malt tax totally, and the Corn Laws at the end of five years; keep on the income tax, raised to five per cent. for ten years. I like the scheme very much.

Nov. 30th.—A fellow has taken the trouble to sneer against me all across the Atlantic. Received this morning a New York paper with a prodigiously long account of a game-law case in England. On the margin, in manuscript: 'A case for Lord Ashley's philanthropy, from an American slave-holder.' Untrue in respect of me, for I hate, and have always hated, these excessive preservations of birds and beasts; illogical in respect of the analogy, for there is no similitude between the trade in human flesh and the over-rigid custody of cock pheasants!

Dec. 1st—Sunday. To St. George's in afternoon. A melancholy sight: the parish church, with a handful of 'genteel folks,' and not twenty square inches of space for the vulgar fry, choked up by monopolising pews, excluding and affronting the working man!

Dec. 3rd.—Yesterday took chair of meeting on behalf of wretched seamstresses. Good Heavens! that in such a cause there should have been so scanty an assemblage! Happily, we had foreseen the event, and had proportioned our room to our expectations. The place of meeting was small, but, being filled, assumed a dignity it did not possess. No 'quality,' no wealth; people very highly respectable. My chief supporters, always zealous and kind, W. Cowper and Redmayne, the wholesale dealer. . . .

It will be remembered that in 1839 the long estrangement between Lord Ashley and his father was followed by a hearty reconciliation. Unhappily, that reconciliation was not to remain unclouded. The career Lord Ashley had adopted, and the causes he had espoused, were not such as met with the sympathy of his father, and ever since the speech at Sturminster in 1843, in which he had spoken plainly of the responsibilities of landed proprietors, there had been a growing coldness, which had resulted as shown in the following entry:—

Dec. 16th.—St. Giles's. The Sturminster speech is not forgotten. It is one of the ingredients of his hatred.* Curious occurrence: the League are reviling me for doing *nothing*, at the moment I am turned out of my father's house for doing *too much*.

Dec. 19th.—League busy; letter this morning to say that an attack was to be made by Cobden on me, drawn from state of dwellings at Martin and Damerham.† Duncombe tells me that a spy has been there for three days. God be with me! I am innocent

* The allusion is to Lord Shaftesbury.

† Martin and Damerham were outlying spots on his father's estate.

as a child unborn, and yet it seems that they will strip me at last of all power to effect anything in the House of Commons. I commit it all to God. He will yet deliver me.

Dec. 24th.—Christmas Eve. Broadlands. 'Hallowed and gracious is the time.' To-morrow a great day will be celebrated throughout the Christian world; brave ceremonies, sermons, processions, litanies, and prayers, and yet millions will neither feel nor hear the benefit of the Heaven-sent gift. A few may be comforted, a few exalted, a few inspired by love and strengthened in their course, but the mass of mankind will be cold to this most mighty reminiscence, this almost incredible mercy of God, our common Father! What a season for united action, for mutual and reconciling prayer, for self-knowledge, for self-abasement, for inquiry who we are, what we are, whence we are, why we are! . . .

Dec. 28th.—Private hints and my own suspicions have led me to believe that my 'favour' has been, for some time, on the decline in the county of Dorset. I have said but little, excepting my speech at Sturminster; but I am disliked, not only for what I have said, but for what I have omitted to say. I cannot do as George Bankes does—attend the agricultural meetings and farmers' clubs, and roar out about Protection, the superhuman excellence of landlords, the positively divine character of tenants, tickle the ears with fulsome flattery, and rise in popularity as you rise in declamation. The labourers are generally ill-treated in houses and wages; the gentry and farmers know the fact, and know, too, that I think so; hence their aversion! The proceedings of the late agricultural meeting at Blandford confirm my opinion. I was mentioned but once, and my name—amid cheers and three times three to many others—attracted there but a cold 'Hear, hear.' It was introduced by Bankes clearly not to honour me, but to furnish an attack on the Anti-Corn-Law League. Well, let them do as they like; I know—and God be praised for it—that I am right; and I will not abate one breath of my lips to save the seat for the county. Nothing but bulls of Bashan; I am encompassed on every side.

CHAPTER XIII.

1845.

Retrospect and Forecast—The Irish Secretaryship—State of Calico Print-Works—Bill to Regulate Labour of Children therein—At St. Giles's—Defenceless State of Dockyards and Coast—Tractarian Movement—Mr. Ward Censured and Deprived of his Degree—Converts to Rome—Maynooth—Sir Robert Peel's Bill for Increased Grant—Excitement in the Country—The Bill Carried—Sympathy with Ireland—Speech on Maynooth—The Evangelical Fathers—Jews' Society—Death of Bishop Alexander—The Railway Mania—Two Bills on the Lunacy Question—The Regulation of Lunatic Asylums—The Better Treatment of Lunatics—Both Bills Carried—Appointment of Permanent Lunacy Commission—Insanity of the Poet Cowper—The Society of Friends—Tour in Manufacturing Districts—A Coming Storm—The Potato Disease—Commission of Inquiry Appointed—A Letter to the *Times*—Its Reception—Changes of View on Corn Laws—Letter from Lord John Russell—Resignation and Re-appointment of Sir Robert Peel—A Painful Alternative.

In the Ten Hours movement, there was little to be done during this year, except to watch the working of the new Bill, and to keep the Committees well together, especially now that those who were pledged to Ten Hours were reinforced by such powerful allies as Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Lord Howick, and Mr. Macaulay.

The subject, however, was never out of Lord Ashley's mind, and in an early entry in his Diary for the year we find him reviewing his position:—

Jan. 11th.—It will be a singular thing if this great and much-agitated question ends in a mere vapour; if the labours of twelve years, and the anxiety and notoriety of forty, commissions and committees,

disclosures of sinfulness, cruelty, and peril, that make one's head to be sick, and one's heart to be faint—terminate as tranquilly and entirely as though nothing had been known and nothing attempted; nevertheless (humanly speaking) such an issue appears to be most probable; I can hardly anticipate a longer period (if so much) for efforts in the House of Commons than the duration of the coming Session. Should I be removed to the House of Lords, I shall be taken to an assembly where it would be vain to propose such measures, and I should leave the other without a successor to my office. Is there any one who would undertake the career from which I should have been removed? I know not the man. It is possible that the duty *now* would not be so burdensome and painful; it is possible that, Moses-like, I may have been a humble instrument to bring the people to the borders of Jordan, while to some Joshua, at present unseen, may be given the honour and delight of leading them into Canaan; but if it be not so, and any one be called to pass through what I have already passed through, he will not do it willingly. Here are twelve years of labour, anxiety, and responsibility, especially the first and the four last; but every year since 1836 has been one of toil and preparation, though nothing, by defect of opportunity, may have appeared in public. Eight years of open support and of suppressed antipathy from the Conservatives *while* in Opposition; three years of coldness and one of decided resistance from the same *when in Government*. By taking this course of declaring and endeavouring to alleviate the wrongs of the working people, I have made many enemies and shaken the confidence of many friends. I have roused the manufacturing interest and the Anti-Corn-Law League. Their fury knows no bounds, and is incapable of repose; papers of all kinds are levelled at my motives and character, and their emissaries hunt me even into private life. The landed gentry, though more cautious, are sadly distrustful, and begin to believe that, as much may be said on both sides, my mouth had better be stopped, and nothing be said at all. I have lost every political and many private friends. The thing has entered into social life. The *Quarterly Review* even, and Lockhart, are gone over to Peel. Except Fielden, Brotherton, and Inglis,* I am certain of no one in public. I have borrowed and spent, in reference to my income, enormous sums of money, and am shut out from every hope

* Sir Robert Inglis.

of emolument and every path of honourable ambition. My own near kinsfolk dislike my opinions, and some persecute me. I am now a sufferer in domestic relations, and I am excluded from my father's house, in no slight degree because I was known to have maintained the cause of the agricultural labourer. No one but myself can estimate the amount of toil by day and by night, of fears and disappointments, of prayers and tears, of repugnances contended against and overcome, of long journeys, and unceasing letters; and will all this have no greater result than the simple and resisted issue of the Colliery Bill? 'I will stand on my watch-tower and will see.'

Not once or twice in his career had Lord Ashley been agitated already by the question of accepting or refusing office. Whenever that question came to him, it filled his mind with conflict. He was patriotic to the core, and the responsibility of declining to accept any position that would give him larger means of benefiting the country, weighed heavily upon him. On the other hand, the temptations to accept office were very great; his name was almost as familiar on the tongues of men as that of the Premier; there were large bodies of the people who looked upon him as the one upon whom their hopes were fixed, as the leader in all great social and religious questions; he was still young, with a young man's proper and laudable ambition; and, moreover, his private means were altogether inadequate to the demands upon them.

Jan. 24th.—Brighton. Colonel Wyndham has lent us his house, and here we are! Saw Bonham yesterday. Asked him who was to be successor to Lord Eliot as Secretary for Ireland. 'Why should not you take it?' said he. 'The Factory Question,' I replied, 'stands in the way.' 'Oh, no,' he rejoined, in a strain of droll logic, 'that is an English question, and has nothing to do with Ireland. There may

be perhaps some difficulty on your part to accept Peel's measures for Ireland, but I can see no other.' He then showed me a letter from Sir J. Graham which he had just received. 'Is Ashley quite out of the question for the Irish Secretaryship? The Factory Question is settled, and he would find ample room for all his activity and for the exercise of all his warm feelings in that career.' I remarked, 'There would be enormous difficulties.' 'Doubtless,' he said, 'but would you refuse *in limine* to talk with Sir Robert on the subject?' 'No, because I think that it would be a duty on my part to hear what the Prime Minister had to say in urging any one to assist him in public affairs.' 'It will be offered,' he continued, 'to Sidney Herbert, who does not wish to go there; but other situations will be open to him by arrangements now in progress.' He added, among other things, that I was desirable as a 'married man.' . . I walked home with him, and talked on other matters. As we parted I said, 'I shall keep your secret, but I must tell you that I see portentous difficulties.' He proceeded to sweep away some questions of detail. 'Mine,' I rejoined, 'are difficulties of principle.' Strange, strange, strange. God give me wisdom and judgment and zeal! A heart, above all things, bent on His service and man's welfare, quite regardless of man's opinion. Sir R. Peel may surrender the 'Ten Hours.' It is far from likely, but possible, and just so likely as to render it unpardonable to me to break off all hope by pride and haste in the onset. If he yield the point, I must, however greatly I detest it, accept office. I fear the trouble, the crosses, the snares, the associations, too, of red tape; weak, unprovided, and unprosperous as I am, my career lies among the questions and labours of *social* interests. He closed by saying: 'After all, you may never hear of this again.'

Feb. 1st.—As Bonham said, 'I have heard no more of it;' it would have been to no purpose, for nothing should have, or shall, induce me to surrender these social and moral questions. Many changes; Gladstone goes out, I know not why; Knatchbull, because Peel is sick of him; Sir T. Freemantle to Ireland; S. Herbert and Lincoln to seats in the Cabinet. It will be a Cabinet of Peel's dolls. Cunning fellow! How adroitly he has tarnished and then dismissed the two 'farmers' friends;' thus he would dispose of every one either actually or prospectively troublesome to him; and so he would have done with me.

Feb. 4th.—Bonham told Jocelyn that on Saturday night a special

messenger was ready to fetch me up from Brighton that Peel might offer me the Secretaryship for Ireland; they learned, however, from him, that I was firm on the Factory Question, and they would not, therefore, expose themselves to a refusal.

Feb. 5.—Peel expressed to Jocelyn his earnest, most earnest, wish that I could be induced to take office—very likely. Graham, too, said the same; spoke of the folly of my perseverance; that the thing was hopeless; and that I kept up bad feelings! Bad feelings? Why, I never called any one Jack Cade! 'But,' added Sir James (it is curious to discover their calculations), 'he will soon be removed to the House of Lords; *he can do nothing with his Factory Bill there*' (most true), 'and then he will be sure to join us.' So here is their device, to run their opposition against my father's life in the sure and certain hope that an elevation (!) to the House of Lords is a death-blow to my exertions! O Lord, I beseech Thee again and again, for Christ's blessed sake, turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness!

Feb. 7th.—Bonham confirmed to me yesterday evening all that Jocelyn had said respecting the intended application to me to take office, and then desired, in a very kind and friendly spirit, to learn from me whether I considered myself as engaged to decline the service of the country, until the Factory Question should have been carried, adding that he could not regard such a decision as in any way justifiable. I replied that 'so long as I had the opportunity of asserting this great principle with even a shadow of success, I was so bound.' He then spoke of the futility of the endeavour, and hinted my prospective and speedy *submersion* in the House of Lords, &c., &c. My unwillingness to take office, I rejoined, arose, not only from the resistance made by the Minister to the Factory Bill, but from the language and conduct of Peel and Graham on all social questions, which I considered, in the sight of God and the welfare of man, to be essential to our existence and honour.

Although, as we have said, there was little to be done for the present in regard to the Ten Hours Bill, Lord Ashley's attention was much engaged upon a kindred subject, the Report of the Children's Employment

Commission, for which he had moved in the year 1840, and especially on the state of the Calico Print-works. The lives of the poor wretched children who were engaged in this branch of industry were made miserable by reason of their cruel bondage. Employment began generally at from seven to nine years of age, although there were cases known of children beginning to work at three or four years old. The hours were always long; lasting, for young girls, as well as for adults, from sixteen to eighteen hours a day, amid circumstances and conditions that were fearfully injurious to health. The rooms in which the work was carried on were hot and unhealthy, and in the "singeing room" the air was always full of small burnt particles, which irritated the eyes intolerably, so that all the children were more or less affected with inflammation and other diseases of the eyes. The nature of their work was distressing, as it required unremitting attention; their arms they had to keep in a continual rotatory motion, and they were upon their feet the whole time they were at work. The wages of these poor children were extremely low; their education was totally neglected; and they were being ruined in body and soul by their long hours of labour, often protracted far into the night. Altogether, the young calico printers seemed to be about the most miserable class of workers to be found in the industrial population.

On February the 4th, Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, and on the 5th, Lord Ashley gave his notices, and obtained, by ballot, precedence for his motion

respecting children occupied in Print-works. The interval, as usual, was full of suspense, and every day his hopes and fears are recorded, and all his thoughts run in the direction of his labours. Thus he writes :—

February 7th.—The progress of crime, both in amount and intensity, is dreadful ! How mysterious are the ways of Providence ! Why is it that children of the tenderest years are subjected to the fiercest tortures ? God give us His Holy Spirit to amend our hearts and lives, for we are desperately wicked—they who do such things, and we who do not prevent them. Shall I deliver my poor children in the Print-works ? God be with me !

February 9th.—Brighton. For days, and almost for weeks, I have prayed, in the words of Lot, 'Give me this Zoar : behold, it is but a little one.' This day that chapter was read as the first lesson ; and then came the reply : 'See, I have accepted thee in this thing also.' I felt it almost like an answer from Heaven that I should rescue my children in the Print-works, and, like the Israelites, 'I bowed the head and worshipped.'

On February the 18th Lord Ashley moved, in the House of Commons, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to regulate the Labour of Children in the Calico Print-Works of Great Britain and Ireland." Although the subject was much akin to others he had brought forward, and the nature of the evidence was of necessity almost identical, he startled the House, and eventually the country, by the revelations he made as to the condition of these oppressed and almost forgotten children. In earnest and eloquent language he pleaded their cause, dwelling upon every point that could touch the heart of the House and draw forth sympathy to the sufferers, yet avoiding any expression reflecting on the conduct and character of individual Print-masters.

He was at a loss to conceive on what grounds an opposition would be made to his proposal, the third in the series he had brought before that House; but he hinted at the possibility in these words:—

Sir, in the various discussions on this and kindred subjects there has been a perpetual endeavour to drive us, who seek the aid of the law, from the point under debate, and taunt us with a narrow and one-sided humanity; I was told that there were far greater evils than those I had assailed—that I had left untouched much worse things. It was in vain to reply that no one could grapple with the whole at once. My opponents, on the first introduction of the Ten Hours Bill, sent me to the collieries; when I invaded the collieries, I was referred to the Print-works; from the Print-works I know not where I shall be sent, for can anything be worse? Yet, if I judge by what I have heard and read out of doors, I conclude that it will be to the Corn Laws; but let me appeal to the most zealous advocate for their abolition, and ask him what their repeal could do more for the benefit of the manufacturing classes than perpetuate the present state of commercial prosperity? We have cheap provisions and abundant employment; but what, nevertheless, is the actual condition of these children? The repeal of the Corn Laws would leave these infants as it found them, neither worse nor better, precisely in the condition in which they are, in those countries where no Corn Laws prevail—in France or Belgium. Whatever it might do for others, it would do nothing for these; but I solemnly declare that, if I believed the removal of the impost would place these many thousands in a position of comfort, and keep them in it, I would, in spite of every difficulty, and in the face of every apprehension, vote at once for the entire abolition.

Sir, it has been said to me, more than once, 'Where will you stop?' I reply, without hesitation, 'Nowhere, so long as any portion of this mighty evil remains to be removed.' *

The Bill, which received some opposition, and was also subjected to some mutilation in its passage through

* Speeches, p. 165.

the House, became law on June 30th as "The Print-Works Act, 8 and 9 Vict. c. 29." Its provisions were akin to those of the Factory Act of the previous year, and contained similar clauses as to inspections and penalties. The Act was defective, however, in many of its provisions, Lord Ashley's proposals having been modified on lines suggested by Mr. Cobden. But, although it did not remove all the evils, it mitigated many, and the condition of the children was greatly ameliorated thereby.*

Feb. 21st.—Time so occupied and harassed, no leisure for entry. Print-works speech over on 18th. The House is weary of these narratives of suffering and shame; the novelty is past, and the difficulty, the apparent difficulty, of a remedy remains; it catches, therefore, at any excuse for inattention, and damns the advocate for the toiling thousands, by courteous indifference. Civil and even kind to myself personally, though manifestly tired of the subject and somewhat of me. Here is another burden added to my shoulders, already bruised and peeled, to fight against an averted and reluctant audience. Sir James complimentary, cold, hostile, subtle, admitted the Bill, and made preparations to throw it out! Public opinion, too, either dead to the woe or preoccupied by trade; not a newspaper will give one syllable to the wrongs of these miserable whelps; and yet, how, without public opinion, can I make the least progress? However, be this as it may, I will against hope believe in hope; I will not throw up the cause; I will, God helping me, persevere; I may have to mourn over the blighted prospects of these children, but I shall find peace for myself.

March 26th.—Panshanger. Up at 7. Bright and soft morning. Birds singing in a variety of notes. It is inspiriting and beautiful—a general and cheerful prayer of all nature to God, the Author and Preserver of all. 'Let everything that has breath praise the Lord.' Aye, children in Print-works no less than birds and beasts and

* Von Plener's "Factory Legislation," p. 35.

creeping things; but a fierce resistance is begun, fierce as though their strongholds were assailed by a legion of angels. Alas! I stand alone; not a 'penny-a-liner' with me: all dark, dismal, silent; but I shall yet 'expect.'

March 31.—Beautiful morning—seems to tempt one from duty and business and make one idle. I could live in the country with joy, but I must, God willing, first accomplish my task in the active haunts of men.

Although there were so many questions pending, and under treatment, in which Lord Ashley was personally engaged, he was not in any way indifferent to the general drift of public affairs. On the contrary, his Diaries abound in comments upon these, although it is beside our purpose to record them here; but the following passage, relating to the defenceless state of our coasts in those days, will be read with interest:—

March 31st.—This evening Navy Estimates in House of Commons. Who will ably and effectively exhibit the defenceless condition of our dockyards, and the whole line of our shores? Never was a great nation, humanly speaking, in such a state of exposure. Steam-boats have brought our antagonists to our level, and wind and tide have ceased to be both our informants and our allies. Yet we repose on former victories, believe in former skill, and are assured of former impunity for our coasts. Vain, presumptuous, and perilous self-sufficiency! A few hours, a surprise, a small squadron, might now effect what many years, and a declaration of war, and the fleets of Europe, could hitherto have found impossible. A combined movement from Cherbourg on Portsmouth and Plymouth, open and undefended either by ships or batteries, might lay all our arsenals in ruin, plunder the whole of our stores, and burn the entire range of our future navies—the vessels in ordinary! Any twenty-four hours would suffice for the whole work; the thing would be done before an answer could be received from the Admiralty to the notification that the French were in Portsmouth Harbour! Now, here is the proof of it, and never has God in His mercy, no, not even to

Hezekiah as against Sennacherib, exhibited a more singular and special providence. Sir Thomas Hastings told me that he had received and reported officially to the Government the intelligence that during the negotiations respecting Tahiti, the French had collected in the harbour of Cherbourg eight steam-vessels equal to the *Gomer*, fully equipped for war, with troops on board, and ready to start at a minute's notice—the commander would have learned, by telegraphic despatch, that the negotiations were at an end, and, without declaration of war—for such, says the Prince de Joinville, is now unnecessary—would, in sixteen hours, have reached both Portsmouth and Plymouth! What was there to oppose them? Absolutely nothing. Not a steam-boat within a day's sail, not a gun-boat in the Harbour, not a cannon mounted on the batteries to fire even a salute! Had they landed 10,000 men they might have kept possession for an indefinite time; three weeks at the least would be required to adapt the mercantile steam navy for war purposes; and had Woolwich been occupied (and access to it is most easy), where would have been our only means of defence? Where, then, would have gone our naval supremacy, our Colonies, our foreign possessions? in how many years could we have replaced our loss? It is awful to think of. We must, in calling our few troops to the defence of the coasts, have left to the lawless multitude, Ireland and the manufacturing districts—internal and external terrors and peril at the same moment! All this was confirmed on the visit of the King of the French to England the other day; he spoke to John Russell, who mentioned it to Palmerston, from whom I have it. 'A war between England and France,' said he, 'is much to be deprecated; we should gain some advantages at first, though we should, on the seas, be worsted in the end. I am glad that our negotiations on Tahiti terminated favourably; I should have been grieved to do any injury to your capital, the seat of civilisation and humanising commerce, but I was advised to make an attempt on London, and I should have been successful.' To be sure he would. Palmerston remarked that this was somewhat of a threat. I take a very different view. The King knows well that his dynasty depends on the position of England; and he gave this as a hint for our advantage, and not as an expression for insult! Well, well may we exclaim, 'O God, we have heard with our ears the noble works that Thou hast done in our days!'

In the ecclesiastical world, the sky was thick with clouds and the air with portents. It was in this year that the Tractarian Movement may be said to have reached its crisis. Although Lord Ashley had keenly watched every fresh development of the controversy, he had not, hitherto, owing to the pressure of other matters, taken much active public part in it. The stages by which the present position had been reached may be briefly told in this place. Early in 1844, Keble had written: "We go on working in the dark, and in the dark it will be, until the rule of systematic confession is revived in our Church." Later on he had complained that it was impossible to ascertain the moral and religious condition of the people "for want of being able to use the arm of confession." Towards the end of the year, Dr. Pusey had declared that he neither could nor would subscribe the Articles of the Church in the sense in which they were propounded by those who framed them. Many public meetings were held in various places, and it was the burden of their protests that the High Church Party was attempting to bring back into the National Church usages which were associated in the minds of the people with the superstitions and corruptions of Rome. Throughout the year 1845, excitement ran high, notwithstanding the address in the early part of that year by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he recommended to the clergy and laity mutual forbearance and concession on the points in dispute between the Tractarian and the Anti-Tractarian parties.

On February the 13th there was a meeting of Convocation at Oxford, to condemn a book written by the Rev. George Ward, M.A., entitled, "The Ideal of a Christian Church, Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice," and to deprive the writer of his degree, on the ground that passages in his book were utterly inconsistent with the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, and with the declaration in respect of these Articles, made and subscribed by Mr. Ward previously, and in order to his being admitted to the degrees of B.A. and M.A. respectively.

On a division, the condemnation of the book was carried by 777 votes against 386, giving a majority of 391 against Mr. Ward; and the proposition to deprive him of his degree was carried by 569 to 511 votes.

February 13.—To Oxford to join in proceedings against Mr. Ward; his censure and deprivation of degree most necessary, becoming, and just. Theatre full; attention good. Mr. Ward, by permission, defended himself in English: not insolent or impetuous, but Jesuitical and shallow. Never did I think that, within those walls, I should hear a clergyman of the Church of England use these expressions: 'With others who, like myself, go to the full extent of the Roman Catholic doctrines;' and, 'I renounce no one doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, provided it be a Roman Catholic doctrine, and not one of corruption;—provided it be a Roman Catholic doctrine—*I mean, sanctified by the Pope.*' Why, these two sentences cancelled his whole defence, and proved the spirit in which he had subscribed the Articles in a 'non-natural sense,' and decried the Reformation. Majority of 391 for the censure; 58 for the deprivation!

Among the non-placets were Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Hook, and Dr. Pusey.

Scarcely had the excitement caused by this decision

died away, than another case, similar in many respects, came before the public. The Rev. F. Oakley, incumbent of Margaret Street Chapel, and an intimate friend of Dr. John Henry Newman, had written to the Bishop of London claiming to hold the same principles as Mr. Ward, and challenging him to institute proceedings. The challenge was accepted, and on June 30th Mr. Oakley was condemned by the Judges of the Arches Court, his licence revoked, and he himself prohibited from officiating in the Province of Canterbury until he retracted his errors.

Events, soon after this, hastened to a climax. On October 8th, Dr. Newman, in a letter to a friend, announced his intention to seek "admission to the one Fold of Christ;" and on November 1st, he, Mr. Oakley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Walker, all converts to Rome, received the sacrament of confirmation in the chapel of Oscott College, at the hands of Dr. Wiseman, while, within the same month, the Rev. F. W. Faber was also received into the Church of Rome.

It is noteworthy that in the midst of this excitement Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce was called to the administration of the diocese of Oxford—the centre and focus of it all.

It was at a period such as this, when men's minds were greatly perplexed on ecclesiastical questions in general, and in particular with regard to any tendency towards Romanism, that the Prime Minister saw fit to bring forward a measure which was to produce anxiety, amounting almost to terror, in the ranks of Protestantism.

When Parliament met in February, it became known that Mr. Gladstone had resigned his post in the Ministry—the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade—and in the course of the debate on the Address, the reasons for this step were fully announced. Sir Robert Peel had intimated that the Government was about to take into consideration the existing Acts relating to the College at Maynooth, with a view to the improvement of that institution by further endowment, and the establishment of non-sectarian Colleges. These changes were at variance with Mr. Gladstone's written and spoken views upon the relations of Church and State, and he at once severed himself from the Ministry, in which he had rapidly risen to influence and power.

In a very short time there was a general commotion. The spirit of Protestantism was roused, public meetings and conferences were held, pamphlets were scattered, sermons were preached, the question was the main topic of conversation in every circle of society, and the most strenuous efforts were made to kindle religious feeling to a white heat, in order that the threatened extension of Roman Catholic endowment might be resisted to the death.

The College of Maynooth, intended for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood and the laity, was not at that time in a position to supply the wants of either. The building was incomplete, and what was finished was falling into decay; the library was wholly insufficient; the funds were inadequate to meet the salaries of the professors, and the accommodation was

altogether unequal to the demands. The proposal of the Government was to place Maynooth on, at least, some approximate level with the other Collegiate Institutions of the Empire, without, it was alleged, in any way interfering with its teaching or discipline.

The Maynooth Bill comprehended an increase in the salaries of the president and professors, provision for sixty additional students—making the number 500—and an augmentation of the grant to each. The annual grant of £9,000 hitherto contributed towards the expenses of the College, was to be increased to nearly £30,000, not subject to an annual vote, and the repairs of the College were to be executed, as in other public buildings, by the Board of Works.

The excitement in the House on the introduction of the Bill was prodigious, and the debate on the second reading lasted over six nights, in the course of which Mr. Disraeli launched philippic after philippic against the Premier. "Explain to us," he cried, "why, after having goaded Ireland to madness for the purpose of ingratiating yourself with the English, you are now setting England on fire for the purpose of ingratiating yourself with the Irish."

It was in vain, however, for Mr. Disraeli to utter his philippics, or for Colonel Sibthorp to say he would "submit to have his head shaved off, rather than forget that he was a Protestant;" the second reading was carried in the Commons by 323 against 176; majority for Ministers, 147. With the exception of Lord Ashley, Mr. Fox Maule, and Mr. G. Bankes,

no one who had held political office voted in the minority.

The excitement in the ecclesiastical world was now intense; never before or since has there been such wild commotion. An unceasing torrent of petitions against the measure rained in; angry denunciations were hurled against the Government; and every Evangelical pulpit and platform in the land uttered its loudest protest.

Lord Ashley was a Protestant of the Protestants, and he stood forth in the name of the Evangelical body of the Church of England, both in and out of Parliament, in the strongest opposition to the measure. He was not at this, nor at any time, "an apostle of mere blind, unreasoning fanaticism." In 1829, as we have seen, he supported Catholic Emancipation by his vote, and, as we shall see, he held sentiments with regard to Roman Catholics for which few, who knew only one aspect of his character, would have given him credit; but he drew a strong distinction between the persecution and the patronage of Roman Catholics. Of the latter, now and always, he was a consistent and determined opponent.

In the great popular agitation, he took an important part, and heavy demands were made upon his time, already crowded with manifold labours of other kinds. His speeches stand in striking contrast to those of some who identified Sir Robert Peel as the veritable Antichrist—of Dr. Croly, for example, who said that George IV. came to a premature end, and the Houses of Parliament were burnt down, because Catholic

Emancipation—"that unhappy, harsh, ill-judged, fatal measure"—was passed in 1829.

Throughout this period, Sir Robert Peel remained unmoved. Since he had overcome Mr. O'Connell, the bitterest of his enemies, he had become, as he thought, master of Ireland; and the panacea for soothing the irritation of the conflict in which he had been victor, was to be the extension of education in Ireland, among the Roman Catholics as well as the Protestants.

He affected to regard the opposition to the Bill as "mainly the opposition of *Dissent* in England—partly fanatical, and partly religious—mainly unwillingness to sanction the germ of a second Establishment, and to strengthen and confirm that of the Protestant Church." He was of opinion that many of his opponents "merely yielded to the wishes of Dissenting constituents. Tariff, drought, forty-six shillings a quarter for wheat," he wrote to Mr. Croker, "quicken the religious impulses of some; disappointed ambition, and the rejection of applications for office, others."*

He looked upon the storm which the Bill had raised with indifference, being resolved to carry the measure, and he professed to be careless as to the consequences which might follow, so far as they concerned him or his position.

The result was as he anticipated: the Maynooth Endowment Bill was carried. Despite the repeated efforts that were made for its repeal, it continued in force until 1868. It was abolished by Mr. Gladstone's

* "Croker's Correspondence," vol. iii., p. 32.

Government when the State Church in Ireland was disestablished.

As, in the course of these volumes, we shall see Lord Ashley standing forth as the champion of Protestantism under circumstances in which his own individuality will be more conspicuous, we shall only quote from one of the many speeches in which he refers to the Maynooth question; and we quote from that one because it expresses the deep interest he always felt in Ireland, and his sympathy for the Irish people:—

> Faith, we know, can remove mountains, and faith, we believe, will remove the evils of Ireland; but it must be no ordinary faith; perseveringly exhibited in no ordinary efforts. I never can speak of that country without shame and remorse. Centuries of misgovernment and neglect have brought that island into the condition it is now in, from which all the wisdom, all the zeal, and the hearty desire of every Government for the last quarter of a century has not been able to extricate it. The evils of that country spring from her social system, and spring from her religion, both alike traceable to this country, and both demanding the succour and the sympathy of the English people.

After referring to proposals for improving the social condition of that country, he continued:—

> Turning to the other suggestions which are made for the improvement of Ireland, I do not think there are many here who will not take very large exceptions to the plan of encouraging the Roman Catholic religion, fostering its colleges, and endowing its priesthood; for these things involve great concession of principles, without any compensating or proportionate benefit. Those who take the highest ground of opposition, declare that they are sinful; those who assume a lower ground, maintain that they are useless in one aspect, and perilous in another. That they are useless as means of conciliating, you have the experience of the last twenty years, and more especially

in the recent legislation upon the College of Maynooth. The fact is, that all our statesmen lie under a grievous mistake ; they endeavour to control the people through the priests, whereas they should endeavour to control the priests through the people. Depend upon this—the difficulty does not lie with the Irish nation ; the difficulty lies with the sacerdotal and monkish orders, who, reversing the piety of Aaron, stand between the living and the dead—the living word of God and the dead congregation. Only allow profound security of life and limb, with free discussion and an open Bible, and you will cease to be perplexed in your determination how Ireland is to be governed—Ireland,

'Great, glorious, and free ;
Bright flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea.' *

There are many references in the Diary to the Maynooth question, only a very few of which we shall extract, as the interest in the matter has now, to a great extent, died out.

March 19th.—The other night a fresh attack on Peel by his old antagonist, Disraeli—very clever and biting. Were not Peel the most unpopular head of a party that ever existed, these things would be put down by rebuke in public, and by frowns in private society. . . .

April 4th.—Last night Maynooth carried (first reading) by 216 to 114, the whole thing almost a counterpart of 1829 ; the same changes of principle, and by the same men. What a spectacle ! Why were the Whigs displaced ? These measures go beyond anything they ever proposed, or even imagined ; and yet Peel was brought in to correct their mischiefs. The main cause of Whig unpopularity was their confederacy with the Romanism of Ireland, union with O'Connell, and supposed desire to act for the advancement of the Papal Church. Peel was their opponent, and led every one to believe that he was also their *opposite*, and therefore to support him. His conduct, then, is considered to be treacherous. And is it not so ? As for the measure, it is useless and foolish—foolish

* Speeches, p. 190.

because it irritates and insults the opinions and feelings of a large body of people in these realms; and useless, because it will not conciliate a single heart in England or Ireland. . . .

April 7th.—Maynooth will prove a stumbling-block; the House, as I foresaw, would readily pass it, but the country is becoming furious. The Free Church of Scotland, the 'religious public' of England, Wesleyans, Dissenters, all alike are protesting and petitioning, probably with little chance of success, but with fixed resolution, so far as in them lies, to cashier their representatives at another election. What a strange ignorance, or haughty contempt of the deep, solemn Protestant feeling in the hearts of the British people! Can a statesman, ought a statesman, to force a measure, by dint of a legislative majority, utterly hateful to the great mass of the nation? . . .

April 8th.—I am resolved to oppose it on this ground: I leave on one side the question of the increased grant and its lawfulness; because, upon that head, you are all at variance. I proceed to the *endowment* of the College by Act of Parliament, with a grant of large funds from the national purse—you thus make it one of the great institutions of the Empire, place it on a level in rank, and on an eminence in favour, as compared with Oxford and Cambridge, and confirm it by more powerful securities. This endowment and elevation lead necessarily to the endowment and elevation of the whole priesthood of Ireland—you must, having raised them to a certain level, keep them there, and this can be effected by adequate endowment only. Thence the establishment by law of the Roman Catholic Church, and the concurrent existence of two Established Churches! The thing is another term for ruin!

It was not until April the 17th, on the second reading of the Bill, that Lord Ashley made his speech on the subject in the House of Commons, although on one or two occasions he had gone there, during the long continuance of the debate, with the full intention of speaking. He felt considerable hesitation as to the line he should adopt. To argue it on financial grounds, would only be to give a

handle to the supporters of the Bill; to argue it on Church of England grounds, would place him in the position of only representing the opinions of a minority; the theological objections were worn threadbare, and had become unpalatable; and the argument that there was political danger in the progress of the Church of Rome, did not seem likely to be effective. When he went down to the House he felt "dismayed beyond all former fears," with not a thought in his mind, and his memory a blank. It was with pardonable pride, therefore, that he was able to make the following entry:—

April 18th.—I obtained last night nothing but compliments from Whig, Tory, Radical, and even Roman Catholics. I can hardly conceive why. I can only pray God that all may be turned to His future service. . . Did all that I could to avoid harsh or personal expressions against Roman Catholics sitting in face of me, and yet to assert my Protestant principles. Glory to God, I effected both. Redington, a Roman Catholic, said, in reply (no paper has reported it), if all Protestants would so speak, and choose me for their leader, it would raise a more fearful enemy to Roman Catholicism than any other way. . . This is very remarkable, an effect quite amounting to a sensation—produced by a single speech from a man in a private station on a worn subject, and in the middle of a prolonged and frequently adjourned debate; it passes my comprehension. D'Israeli said to me last night: 'I think it quite a duty to tell you what an effect your speech has produced. I have spoken to-day to all kinds of persons, from Crockford's up to the Bank, and have heard but one voice. You have hit out a line of action and argument;—great conciliation with *steady and full assertion of Protestantism.* The very violent, the discreet, the lukewarm, have all concurred in expressions of approval. The peroration was of especial value.' I thanked him, and replied that, 'standing as I did so much alone, these things gave me hearty encouragement.' 'Yes,' he added, 'I have long

observed your single efforts, and I thought it a duty to break the ice, and say what I have heard.' . . .

Although the second reading was carried by a majority for Ministers of 147, that majority was curiously composed—viz., Conservatives in favour of the Bill, 158; Liberals, 165. Against: Conservatives, 145; Liberals, 31. Sixty-four Conservatives were absent from the division.

April 21st.—It was a fearful minority: 145 of Peel's friends voted against him. He had a majority of Conservatives in *opposition* to his Bill. He lives, therefore, moves, and has his being through John Russell.

The Bill was not read a third time until the 21st of May, but its eventual success was regarded as certain. Lord Ashley speaks of it in the following entry as if already achieved.

May 3rd.—Ireland thankless, as I foresaw, for the boon . . . Is it not to weaken the religious argument when you protest against Maynooth, not because of its purpose, but because of its effects? The effects have nothing to do with the arguments; were they even good, humanly speaking, it would be equally a duty to resist the national and permanent teaching of that religion which was declared and established by the Council of Trent. . . . What a blessing to me it is that I am not tied by the strings of a Party either indoors or out!

The month of May brought Lord Ashley many pleasures and duties in connection with the meetings of religious Societies. Especially was his interest excited, at this period, in the Jews' Society, which was enjoying its palmy days. There had been everywhere a revival of zeal on behalf of "God's ancient people;" good news was constantly arriving from Jerusalem of the labours of

the Bishop and his noble band of workers, and certain promises and prophecies of the Scriptures were regarded as about to be speedily fulfilled. As a matter of fact their fulfilment was not accomplished, but the anticipation stimulated faith and hope in those who read, what they thought to be, the "signs of the times."

It reminds one of the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, to read the muster-roll of the "great cloud of witnesses"—the Fathers of the Evangelical Church—who were on the platform at the "exciting meeting," as Lord Ashley calls it, on the anniversary day in this year, most, if not all, of whom, have now gone to their rest. There were Sir Thomas Baring, the Bishop of Chester (Sumner), Lord Ashley; the Revs. E. Bickersteth, Hugh Stowell, T. S. Grimshawe, F. C. Ewald, W. R. Freemantle; Dr. Wolff of Bokhara, Hugh McNeile, W. W. Pym, and Dr. Marsh, of whom it may be said, "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them and embraced them."

Lord Ashley was singularly happy in his speech from the chair. He said:—

> Our Church and our nation have been called to the glorious service of making known the Gospel of Christ to the many thousands of Israel. Now, in whatever light I view this great question, whether I regard it as purely secular, whether I regard it as purely religious, or whether I regard it as partaking of both characters, I see no subject which can surpass, or even approach it, in magnitude and in all those attributes which feed the imagination and stir into life the warmest energies of the heart. . . . We rejoice in the end and hopes of this Society, as seeking the fulfilment of a long series of

prophecies, and the institution of unspeakable blessings, both in time and in eternity, for all the nations of the world. We believe (and we act, too, as we believe) that, if the casting away of the Jewish people be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead; and turn where you will to examine the operations of this and all kindred Societies, and of every people on earth, and you will see in our tardy progress, and in our comparative unfruitfulness, the necessity of this revival. . . . It is our duty, our most high and joyous duty, that every effort be made, that no exertion be spared, that all our toil be given, by day and by night, that into every prayer, with all our souls, this special supplication should enter, for the revival and exaltation, be it figurative or be it literal, of repentant and forgiven Jerusalem.*

It was little dreamed by those who had taken part in the meeting, that before the year closed they would have to mourn the death of Bishop Alexander, the one, it was believed, who was to be the instrument for carrying out many of the great schemes on which their hearts were set. The sad event, and its effect on Lord Ashley's mind, are thus recorded:—

December 15th.—Just received, in a letter from Veitch, the examining chaplain, intelligence of the death of the Bishop of Jerusalem, at Cairo. I would rather have heard many fearful things than this sad event; it buries at once half my hopes for the speedy welfare of our Church, our nation, and the Children of Israel! What an overthrow to our plans! what a humbling to our foresight! what a trial to our Faith! Alas, this bright spot, on which my eyes, amidst all the surrounding darkness, confusion, and terrors of England, have long been reposing, is now apparently bedimmed.

I am quite dismayed, and enter fully into the Scripture expression, 'amazement.' We were rejoicing in his expected arrival in England to aid our efforts, and advance the cause; he is cut down as suddenly as a flower by the scythe!

* *Jewish Intelligencer*, June, 1845.

But what is our condition? Have we run counter to the will of God? Have we conceived a merely human project, and then imagined it to be a decree of the Almighty, when we erected a bishopric in Jerusalem, and appointed a Hebrew to exercise the functions? Have we vainly and presumptuously attempted to define 'the times and seasons which the Father hath put in His own power?' God, who knoweth our hearts, alone can tell. It seemed to us that we acted in faith for the honour of His name, and in the love of His ancient people; but now it would appear that the thing was amiss, and not according to God's wisdom and pleasure.

And yet, short-sighted, feeble creatures as we are, all this may be merely a means to a speedier and ampler glory!

Did not perceive at first the full extent of my repulse, as it were. The Bishop went out with his amiable wife and seven children, the whole family, 'Hebrew of the Hebrews,' of the pure Jewish race. I ardently, but fondly, believed that herein was an accomplishment of the prophecy of Isaiah; and every morning during the last four years have I prayed that it would please God to 'accept this little company as a present unto Thee in the Mount Zion, and give him grace to say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God in your crucified, but now glorious, Messiah.' All at an end!

The year was memorable for a mania among speculators, as curious as that of the South Sea Bubble.

The railway system had been in partial operation for some years, but there had not been any remarkably vigorous speculation in shares; due in great measure to the languor and depression that had prevailed since 1839. In 1843, a few adventurers had succeeded in doing "a good thing" in railways; and the notion soon became prevalent that the best way to make money grow, was to invest it in railways. Speculative capitalists caught at the idea, and resorted to every available means to create a demand for investment of the money that had been lying idle for the past four years.

Success attended their labours; a railway speculative fever set in, and soon became an epidemic. Grave and sedate people, no less than the dreamers of dreams, seemed suddenly to have lost their senses; the old and the young, the millionaire and the thrifty artisan, people of all ages, of both sexes, and of every rank, were eager to risk all they possessed, so confident were they that timely investment was the sure road to fortune.

Parliament was besieged by the promoters of Bills for new railways; and every fresh scheme proposed, brought forward a host of enthusiasts, who, despite the fact that the advantage to be gained from some of these wild and ruinous propositions, could only be the saving of a little time and a little money to those who travelled or carried goods, were ready to back up the designing and unscrupulous few who were making gigantic profits by their frauds on the public. It was at this time that Lord Ashley's father, Lord Shaftesbury, so greatly distinguished himself as Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords. Much labour also devolved on Lord Ashley in connection with these railway matters in the House of Commons, and there are many entries in his Diary to the following effect:—

May 26th.—In the chair of Railway Committee! Six days in the week. Sharp work. . . .

June 7th.—Still in chair of Railway Committee!

This was happening at a time when he was more than usually pressed with Parliamentary duties. He had

determined to bring forward further measures with regard to Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums, but "had been let hitherto." The subject was continually in his thoughts, and, at different periods of the early part of the year, he writes in this strain :—

March 23rd.—To Surrey County Lunatic Asylum. A noble establishment, and admirably conducted. A sight to make a man who cares a fig for his fellows jump for joy and give thanks to God. Surely we are on the advance to better things. Compare this with the state of lunatics *fifteen years ago*, and what a change! We see it all around, but do we go fast enough? Is not the cup being *filled* more rapidly by our iniquities than *emptied* by our obedience! Oh, that I might be permitted, by God's grace, to introduce and carry my measures for the benefit and protection of this helpless race! . . .

May 7th.—Cannot get in my Lunacy Bills. Graham is not ready. Session is slipping away. The labour and hopes of years will be lost. 'All these things,' said old Jacob, 'are against me.' God grant, for I commit all to Him, that I may be alike persuaded of the contrary!

It was not until the 6th of June that Lord Ashley found his opportunity, and then, at the request of the Government, who had pledged themselves in the previous Session to support him, he brought forward, simultaneously, two Bills: the first, "For the Regulation of Lunatic Asylums," and the second, "For the Better Care and Treatment of Lunatics in England and Wales." In reviewing the past history and present position of the question, he described the lamentable state of the law prior to the Act of 1828, and the partial benefits which that, and other Acts, had conferred; but pointed out that evasions of the law were

frequent, and that horrors of almost every kind were possible under the existing system. He proposed now to establish a permanent Commission, and thereby secure the entire services of competent persons. The Bill would give the power of more detailed and more frequent visitations, fix the limit of expenses, and place all asylums or "hospitals" under proper regulations.

My Bill will also provide an additional security against the improper detention of pauper patients, by requiring that the persons signing the order for their confinement shall personally examine them beforehand, and that the medical officer who certifies as to their insanity shall see them within seven days previous to their confinement. I may add that neither of these safeguards exists at present. I propose, also, that my measure should compel every person receiving a patient to state his condition, mental as well as bodily, when first admitted, and the cause of his death when he dies. It will also direct that every injury and act of violence happening to a patient shall be recorded, and will require a case-book to be kept, thereby affording additional securities against mismanagement, and showing how far the patients have the benefit of medical treatment. It will also authorise the visitors to enforce a proper supply of food (in licensed houses) to pauper patients, who are at present fed at the discretion of the proprietor. Further, it will enable the visitor to order the admission of a patient's friends; at present they are admitted or excluded at the caprice of the person who signs the order for the patient's confinement. It likewise will enable the visitors to sanction the temporary removal of a patient in ill-health to the sea-side or elsewhere. It, moreover, will enforce an immediate private return of all single patients received for profit, and authorise the members of a small private Committee, named by the Lord Chancellor, to visit them if necessary. This is the provision of the law in France: in that country licences are prescribed for every house, and certificates and visitors for every lunatic. The abuses and cruelties perpetrated in these retreats for single patients would surpass the belief of the House. . . . These returns are

universally evaded at present, the law rendering it unnecessary to make any return unless the patient has been confined for twelve months. The Bill will give the Chancellor power to protect the property of lunatics against whom a commission has not issued, by a summary and inexpensive process, and it subjects all workhouses in which any lunatic is kept to regular visitation.

The purpose of the second Bill was to extend the system of county asylums. It provided that the erection of county asylums should be compulsory, the existing accommodation increased where necessary, and separate buildings provided for chronic cases. The Bill further provided for the prompt care and treatment of all classes of lunatics; that those whose friends could not pay for them should be placed in an asylum as paupers, and that all lunatics taken care of by their friends, instead of being placed in asylums, should be inspected quarterly by a medical man, and lists of them returned to the Commissioners.

After giving details of the financial part of the question, and a characteristically vivid description of the horrors still prevalent in certain quarters under the existing system, Lord Ashley urged the necessity of utterly abolishing the practice of making pauper lunatics the prey of speculators. Appealing to the House—"an assembly of educated, humane, and Christian men"—on behalf of this utterly helpless class, who "were under the marked visitation of a wise, though inscrutable Providence—a class who could not make the least compensation for their disinterested zeal and labours," he said:—

It is remarkable and very humiliating, the long and tedious process by which we have arrived at the sound practice in the treatment of the insane, which now appears to be the suggestion of common-sense and ordinary humanity. The whole history of the world, until the era of the Reformation, does not afford an instance of a single receptacle assigned to the protection and care of these unhappy sufferers, whose malady was looked upon as hardly within the reach or hope of medical aid.

To the wise and humane efforts of Pinel, to the signal success of the Society of Friends, and that remarkable family of the Tukes who founded the retreat at York, Lord Ashley paid a high tribute, and concluded thus :—

To secure not only the progress, but even the continuance of this improved condition, we have need of a most active and constant supervision ; if this be denied, or even abated, the whole system will relapse. There is the strongest tendency, and it is not unnatural, amongst the subordinate officers of every asylum, to resort to coercion ; it gratifies all the infirmities of pride, of temper, and of insolence. .

It is our duty, and our interest too, when we have health and intellect—*mens sana in corpore sano*—leisure and opportunity, to deliberate upon these things before the evil days come, and the years of which we shall say we have no pleasure in them. Here are we sitting in deliberation to-day ; to-morrow we may be subjects of this fearful affliction. Causes, as slight apparently as they are sudden, varying through every degree of intensity—a fall, a fever, a reverse of fortune, a domestic calamity—will do the awful work, and then, 'Farewell, King!' The most exalted intellects, the noblest affections, are transformed into fatuity and corruption, and leave nothing but the sad though salutary lesson—how frail is the tenure by which we hold all that is precious and dignified in human nature." *

After a debate, in which there was no opposition, leave was given to bring in the Bills, and Lord Ashley

* Hansard, 3 s., lxxxi. 180.

carefully guided their further course. On progress being reported, Mr. T. Duncombe denounced the appointment of salaried Commissioners as "a job," and the Board as a secret tribunal dangerous to the liberties of English subjects.* He divided against the Bill, which, however, passed this stage by 117 votes to 15. The two Bills became law in 1845, and have been not inaptly called "the Magna Charta of the liberties of the insane."

The permanent Lunacy Commission now introduced, whose functions were greatly widened, comprised six paid Commissioners at salaries of £1,500 each. Lord Ashley, who since its foundation had always been a member, became unpaid Chairman of the Commission, an office he retained until the end of his life.

June 7th.—Hiatus. Many things to record; but large proportion of them have fled from my memory. First, though not in order of time, I must enter an expression of humble, hearty, and unceasing thanks to Almighty God for my great success in the introduction of the Lunacy Bills yesterday evening. Sir J. Graham seconded the proposition in a very kind and fervid speech, and announced the full support of the Government. Just as I had concluded my speech amid applause from the House, two Masters in Chancery appeared from the Lords, and announced their acceptance of the Bill for the protection of women and children in the Calico Print-works. What an answer to my prayers; on the same day, and at the same hour!

June 30th.—Never have I suffered more anxiety than on these Lunacy Bills. I dream every night, and pass, in my visions, through every clause, and confuse the whole in one great mass. It is very trying—perpetual objections, perpetual correspondence, perpetual doubt; and yet there are good feelings exhibited. Nevertheless, at

* Hansard, 3 s., lxxxi. 1416.

this late period of the Session, one obstinate, ill-disposed, and stupid man may impede our entire progress. . . .

July 22nd.—Have toiled through obstruction, insult, delay, desertion, to the third reading, and have been detained all this day by Mr. Duncombe on clause by clause of the Bill, as he has a *right* to do on this stage. What a time I have passed! Every hour of every day engaged in this Bill and its collateral troubles! Not a moment to myself for thought or comfort. Have had a violent attack, brought on by labour and anxiety. Reached only the forty-sixth clause; the Lords yet in view, and this day the 22nd of July!

July 30th.—Both Bills passed Committee in the Lords, and they are now quite safe. Most humbly and heartily do I thank God for my success. Such a thing almost before unknown, that a man, without a party, unsupported by anything private or public, but God and His Truth, should have overcome Mammon and Moloch, and have carried, in one Session, three such measures as the Print-works Regulation and the two Bills for the erection and government of Lunatic Asylums.

Aug. 20th.—Have been reading, in snatched moments of leisure, 'Life of Cowper.' What a wonderful story! He was, when he attempted his life, thoroughly mad; he was never so at any other time. Yet his symptoms were such as would have been sufficient for any 'mad doctor' to shut him up, and far too serious to permit any 'Commissioner' to let him out, and, doubtless, both would be justifiable. The experiment proved that Cowper might safely be trusted; but an experiment it was, the responsibility of which not one man in three generations would consent, or ought, to incur. We should, however, take warning by his example, and not let people be in such a hurry to set down all delusions (especially religious delusions) as involving danger either to a man's self, or to the public. There are, I suspect, not a few persons confined whom it would be just as perplexing, and yet just as safe, to release as the poet Cowper.

Parliament was prorogued on the 9th of August, but there was little time for Lord Ashley to rest. For him, repose consisted more in the change than in the total absence of occupation; and a mind like his,

active and hungry, needed something to feed upon more definite and practical than speculation. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the lull in one kind of engagements occupied busily in other directions.

Sept. 1st.—The Society of Friends watch me with unparalleled love or unparalleled malignity. Wherever I turn, I see, or hear, or read, some token of their sleepless zeal. Mr. Bright gives me no rest in the House of Commons; Ashworth in Lancashire; Pease has paused but for a time in the public press. There is a Quaker, whose name I forget, but who keeps all alive at Fordingbridge; and now a Mr. Wright, of Pontefract, has written to denounce the oppression of the peasantry, '*thy tenantry* near thy residence in Dorsetshire!' as set forth in the *Times* of August 23rd. Replied to contradict his assertions, and express my sense of the love the Quakers bear me and their zeal for my reformation.

Sept. 12th.—Turning over in my mind some scheme of general education, such, at least, as may bring the vast mass of the juvenile population within the 'reading of the Bible.' It is sad to see, and quite awful to consider, the vast multitude of immortal creatures who live and die without ever hearing, except in an oath, the name of Christ. This every one admits, deplores, and leaves unredressed. The more I think, the more I am embarrassed and perplexed; the Church on one side, which ought to be respected; the Dissenters on the other, who will make themselves heard, seem to present insurmountable difficulties; and meanwhile the people perisheth!

In June, just when Lord Ashley's hands were full, as we have seen, with the Print-works and Lunacy Bills, Railway Committees, and other pressing affairs, some of the Lancashire operatives had grown angry and suspicious because he hesitated, at that period, to broach the Ten Hours question in Parliament. "It is not their intention," he wrote in his Diary, "but they are monstrously unjust. No man, living or dead, has sacrificed

for them the tenth part that I have done; and what motive can I have, but their interest, to be silent even for an hour!" As soon, therefore, as circumstances would permit, he made a tour in the manufacturing districts.

Oct. 14th.—Manchester. On Ten Hours business. Met a delegation of operatives; heartily received; all went off well; plenty of zeal and 'no surrender.' The cause has long been in the ground; now, surely, it is time for it to bear fruits upward.

Oct. 17th.—Bradford. In addressing operatives, urged two points of, as I think, great importance. Held out, as a ground of hope, the improved tone and temper of all classes of station and property towards the working people; the various efforts for their moral and physical amelioration; their question could not be stationary while all the others advanced. Next, the value of the Ten Hours movement; it had been the beginning of all the movements; it had directed general and individual attention to the state of all the classes of the working people; it was, as it were, a representative question—the interests and welfare of all were contended for under the struggle maintained on behalf of this one. And, moreover, the manner in which the operatives had conducted the question—no violence of language or action, no threats, no expressions of vengeance, no bitter accusations, no unhealable wounds—this was, I told them, a bright example to the whole world of the mode in which a people should demand, and will obtain, their inalienable rights.

Oct. 19.—Rowton. The evening sun is now falling across the landscape; the rest are gone to church, and I am left alone; a melancholy, not quite unpleasant, is spread over the whole, and I seem, for the place recalls them, to travel over twenty years of my bygone life. What a period! and what treasures of opportunity for good passed, and perhaps wasted! I may, by God's especial grace, have done some few things; but how many have I not done; how many have I prevented, it is possible, in others! Yet there is, even here, a blessing in such a reflection: it will stimulate to further efforts while it saves us from self-righteousness. The evening is bright, soft, and peaceable. Would to God it could be eternal! that

is, the peace, not the evening. We should long for a better country and the brightness itself of the firmament. Pray for nothing, hope for nothing, that could delay the Second Advent!

In the early part of this year, the Peel Administration was standing, apparently, upon the firmest possible foundation, and when Parliament was prorogued, on the 9th of August, there was not a cloud in the sky to give warning of the coming storm.

Only two days, however, passed, before Sir James Graham received a letter from a potato dealer, informing him that, from some unaccountable cause, a species of blight, or other form of disease, had fallen upon the potato crop of the country, and that all the potatoes sent to the markets bore indication, more or less, of the disease. The news soon received confirmation. It was found that throughout the whole of Kent and Sussex the disease was prevalent; and, later on, similar reports came from all quarters. In England, where the people —partly owing to the operation of the Poor Law—had not to depend upon the potato for subsistence, the threatened danger was not so alarming as to suggest the idea of famine. But in Ireland, if the disease should spread there—there was no evidence at present that it had done so, the crop being later in its yield there than elsewhere—the result would be disastrous in the extreme, as the vast majority of the working population were entirely dependent upon the potato crop for their existence, and its failure would mean nothing less to them than ruin and starvation.

The Government could not shut their eyes to this

terrible contingency, and frequent Cabinet Councils were held. People began to inquire what these could mean, for, as yet, the public in general were ignorant of the approaching danger, and rumours were current that there was a division among the Ministers.

A few weeks sufficed to explain the mystery, and then there was a clamour for the immediate calling together of Parliament, and, on the part of the Anti-Corn-Law League, for the ports to be thrown open.

Sir Robert Peel had come into office in 1841 to maintain the Corn Laws, but now, seeing the extent of the danger, his first consideration was the necessity of throwing open the ports to the importation of provisions of every kind.

This in itself would have been an easy matter, if it were only to meet the present emergency; the difficulty would be to re-impose restrictions after they had been once relaxed.

Towards the end of October, the news arrived that the distemper was spreading throughout Ireland with frightful rapidity, and on the last day of the month, a Cabinet Council was held at Sir Robert Peel's residence, to deliberate on the alarming prospects of the country. On the following day, he set before the Cabinet his opinion that the Corn Laws could no longer be maintained, that the existing duties should be at once suspended, and the ports thrown open. No definite action, however, was taken at that time; a Commission, consisting of the heads of departments in Ireland, was

appointed to take steps to guard against the sudden inroad of famine, and the idea of an autumnal Session was abandoned. Shortly after this, there arose a great cry in Ireland, and the Mansion House Relief Committee of Dublin interpreted it in a series of resolutions which stated that there was undoubtedly approaching, throughout that land, calamitous famine and pestilence, and which concluded by impeaching the conduct of the Ministry, for refusing to open the ports or to call Parliament together earlier than usual.

In this position of affairs, the course adopted by Lord Ashley is best told in his own words.

The following letter, addressed to his constituents, was republished from the *Dorset County Chronicle* in the *Times* of October 20th :—

LORD ASHLEY UPON THE CORN LAWS.

(*From the "Dorset County Chronicle" of Oct.* 16.)

TO THE GENTRY, CLERGY, AND FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF DORSET.

GENTLEMEN,—The interval of the recess from public duties affords me leisure to address you on the subject of my conduct as a Member of the House of Commons.

I have taken the course of addressing you by letter, because it is not likely that I shall have the pleasure, this year, of attending any of your agricultural anniversaries ; and if, moreover, the period of a dissolution of Parliament be nigh at hand, you may possibly be summoned to exercise the elective franchise before another such opportunity occur for inquiry or explanation.

A requisition has, I understand, been numerously and respectably signed, and circulated throughout the county, to call upon some other gentleman, whose principles and whose practice are more in

accordance with the views of those who have subscribed it, to offer himself as a candidate at the General Election for the honour of representing you.

I do not complain of this proceeding on the part of the requisitionists; they have exercised openly and legitimately a constitutional right and probably a duty—yet it renders inevitable a declaration on my part of the course I shall pursue, that we may not remain in ignorance of the views of each other, and that I may not have anything to suppress now and explain away hereafter.

But it will be very short, because I cannot promise you any alteration. It would be desirable, I know; for I am fully aware of the incompetent manner in which I have discharged the trust committed to my hand; but that is an imperfection beyond my power to amend, and thus, as I am unable to improve my abilities, and altogether indisposed to change my conduct, I have the pain to find myself at variance, for the first time during the space of fourteen years, with many of those who have hitherto honoured me by their countenance and support.

I will seize this occasion to touch the subject of the Corn Laws, and the certain result of the present movement against them. It appears to me that their destiny is fixed; and that the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature are by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition. The debates of last Session have left no doubt on this head; both the candidates for power and the occupants of it, approximated so much more closely than at any former period, that most of the hearers were induced to believe that their difference was less a matter of principle than a question of time.

If this be so, it is needless to argue the policy or impolicy of such a change; it would rather be wise to consider in what way you can break the force of an inevitable blow. The sudden repeal of these Laws would be destructive; the gradual abolition of them would be less injurious. You have at this moment the power to offer such terms; there is no certainty that you will retain it much longer—our actual prosperity must come to an end; and then the wide and fearful pressure of commercial distress, with the hostility on one side and the indifference on the other, of the great political chiefs, will leave you, in an hour of especial difficulty, altogether without a refuge or resource.

And now, gentlemen, with many and sincere thanks for the

kindness and confidence you have hitherto bestowed upon me, allow me to subscribe myself, with much respect,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

LONDON, *Oct.* 10th. ASHLEY.

The Diary continues:—

October 25th.—I cannot see my opinion on the Corn-Law question in a different light. I am sure it is safe, and even necessary, in the present position of affairs; and as for the insinuation that I am shifting or changing, I cannot treat regulations as principles. I have written this in reply to Melbourne, and stated the case fully.

October 27th.—Violent articles in papers; *sent to me*, of course. League paper absolutely truculent; every form of baseness ascribed to me. Surely this extreme and ferocious bitterness from the two opposites is a tolerable proof that I have hit the mean. This comes of speaking the truth. Good it is, no doubt, that the truth should be told, and it will, no doubt equally, at last prevail; but the man who speaks it is oftentimes a martyr to his sincerity, and others are enlightened to praise him when he is either dead or ruined. I fancy I see the motives of this eruption of anger. The high Protection party conceive that my letter gives an impulse to abolition, the very shadow of which is frightful to them; the Free-Traders conceive that it will aid to qualify their scheme of abolition by adding time and modifications. Thus I have grievously offended both sides; my strength, if I have any, will be found among the reasonable, thinking men of the land.

I do not, cannot, repent of the step I have taken. But by adopting this line I separated myself from many with whom I had hitherto acted. And I thus invited the assaults, the combined assaults, of two parties, and, standing alone, lost the countenance (such as it is) of the third! I had, in this way, nothing to rest on but my general influence and character. It was impossible to be blind to the ill-suppressed hatred of many individuals of all classes; and the tone and language of the public papers, metropolitan and provincial, develop the grounds of the animosity—'canting, saint, hypocrite, pretence of religion, &c.'—everything, in short, that can pass a sneer

on the principles I have ventured to maintain. It has always been so, and will be so to the end of time. God help me!

For my own satisfaction and conscience I could not endure the annual repetition of sham-fights, so to speak. We were summoned, every Session, to make a plain, unconditional resistance to the repeal of the Corn Laws. I had long suspected that it would be ultimately unavailing, that the agricultural interest would some day be summoned, either by the presence of commercial difficulty, or by the will of the Minister, to reverse, in some following Session, the decision of the one that had preceded. The last debate confirmed both this opinion and that of utter hopelessness of continued resistance. What, then, was to be done? I could not think this without saying it. There are, no doubt, many occasions on which it is wise to be silent; but *here* I could not with propriety refrain from speaking out. I could not deceive those whom I represented, by urging them on to protracted resistance, by promising results which I was sure would never arrive. I could not myself coldly persist in a line of conduct which was (I thought, at least) fatal to the interests of the landed gentry, and at variance with my own judgment of what was required. I said it, therefore, and awaited, and do await, the personal consequences! . . .

The action of Lord Ashley had raised a storm around him, such as was novel even in his experience. Two years before, the *Examiner* had said, "If this man goes on as he now does, telling the truth to every one, he will soon become the most hated person in England." The prophecy now appeared to be about to receive its fulfilment.

November 3rd.—At times I almost quail when I think of the concentrated hatred against me.

Nov. 24th.—After all, what have I done to provoke such constant, minute, and pointed hatred? The League hate me as an aristocrat; the landowners, as a Radical; the wealthy of all opinions, as a mover of inconvenient principles. The Tractarians loath me as an ultra-Protestant; the Dissenters, as a Churchman;

the High-Church think me abominably low; the Low-Church some degrees too high. I have no political party; the Whigs, I know, regard me as leaning very decidedly to the Conservatives; the Conservatives declare that I have greatly injured the Government of Sir R. Peel. I have, thus, the approval and support of neither; the floating men of all sides, opinions, ranks, and professions, who dislike what they call a 'saint,' join in the hatred, and rejoice in it. Every class is against me, and a host of partisans in every grade. The working people, catching the infection, will go next, and then, 'farewell, King:' farewell any hopes of further usefulness.

On the 22nd of November, a letter from Lord John Russell, written from Edinburgh, and addressed to the electors of London, appeared in the daily papers, announcing his unqualified conversion to the principles of the Anti-Corn Law League, and expressing his surprise that, with calamity of an unprecedented nature threatening, Ministers had separated, apparently, without having taken any steps to meet the impending scarcity. It concluded in these unmistakable words:—"The Government appear to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present Corn Laws. Let the people by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek. Let the removal of restrictions on the admission of the main articles of food and clothing, used by the mass of the people, be required in plain terms, as useful to all great interests and indispensable to the progress of the nation."

On the re-assembling of the Cabinet two days afterwards, it became evident that Sir Robert Peel had resolved either to repeal the Corn Laws or to resign. On the 4th of December it was announced in the *Times*,

with all authority, though not using the word itself, that Parliament would meet at an early date, and that the repeal of the Corn Laws would then be proposed by the Ministers.

It is quite impossible now to realise the intensity of the excitement caused by this announcement. How the information found its way into that paper, remains to this day a mystery, and it was indignantly denied by the Ministerial press.

Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch intimated to the Premier that they declined to be parties to any measure involving the ultimate repeal of the Corn Laws, and refused further to retain office; and a feeling having become prevalent that others would do the same, Sir Robert Peel, on the 5th of December, repaired to Osborne, and tendered his resignation to her Majesty.

Lord John Russell was summoned to form a Government, but his arrangements fell to the ground, and before the end of the year Sir Robert Peel was again First Minister of the Crown.

Dec. 23rd.—A question will shortly arise, which we, M.P.'s of a certain complexion, shall be called on to answer—'Do you intend to vote for the Bill of Sir R. Peel, which will take away all protecting duties (though gradually, perhaps) from British Agriculture?' Weigh the reply; you may, in reference to the exigency of the country, and of the times, be convinced that such an issue is inevitable, and, if carefully introduced, not injurious; you will say then that, 'if you give a vote at all, it must be for abolition as against Protection.' Have you a right to give such a vote? I will look to my own case; I was elected by an agricultural body, who expected, undoubtedly, that what they called 'Protection,' should be maintained. I was not tied, by their language or by my own, either to mode or to extent, to

sliding scale or sixty-shillings; it was not a matter on which they could have demanded, or I would have given, a pledge—but a new case has arisen, one not then in the contemplation of either party, the case of total abolition, one on which the electors would have had a right to ask, and possibly I should have been ready to give, a decided engagement. It seems then that, if I were to vote for abolition, I should vote in a sense diametrically opposite to the sense of their hopes and views when they chose me as their representative, and in a way which, had it been then foreseen, would have, in all likelihood, prevented my election.

Now we must take heed what we do, and pray earnestly to God for a sound judgment, for counsel, wisdom, and understanding, that those especially, who make profession of religion, may bring no scandal on honesty and truth.

The last entry in the Diary for the year finds Lord Ashley face to face with this alternative:—

Dec. 31st.—If Peel's plan be for total abolition, and I be disposed to support it, must I not previously resign my seat? What a tremendous sacrifice! The Ten Hours Bill abandoned, and all my projects at once extinguished! God in His mercy give me wisdom and prosper the issue.

CHAPTER XIV.

1846.

Repeal of the Corn-Laws—The Ten Hours Bill—Mr. John Bright—Seat for Dorset resigned—Hard Work in Factory Districts—Care of Ten Hours Bill devolves on Mr. Fielden—Out of Parliament—In the Lobby—Fall of the Peel Ministry—Lord John Russell Prime Minister—The Colonies—Indian Successes—Letter from Sir Henry Hardinge—Gloomy Views—The Ragged School Union—Curious Coincidence of Names—Labour for the Poor—The London City Mission—The Labourers' Friend Society—Housing of the Poor—Perambulations in Low Haunts of London—Speaking to the Outcasts—With little Children—The Model Lodging-House System Inaugurated—Article in *Quarterly Review*—A Striking Narrative—Poverty and Riches—Dreams of Future Work—Activity in Religious Circles—Young Men's Christian Association—Early Closing Movement—Bishop Gobat—A Foreign Tour—Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Holland—"The Cells where Memory Slept"—Invited to Stand for Bath—Famine in Ireland—Pope Pius IX.—A Talk with Lord John Russell—Church Appointments—Unsuitable Education—Poverty.

On the 22nd of January Parliament re-assembled. For some weeks previously, public feeling had been strained to the uttermost, and the announcements to be made by the restored Minister were awaited with feverish anxiety. But, although it was clear that Sir Robert Peel had become a convert to the Manchester School, and that it was his intention to abandon the Corn Laws he had come into office to maintain, he did not make any definite statement: "I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest," he said; "I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interest, and providing for the public safety."

A few days later, however (Jan. 27), he announced his policy, into the details of which it is not necessary that we should enter here. The important part of the explanation was, that he proclaimed himself "an absolute convert to the Free-Trade principle, and that the introduction of the principle into all departments of our commercial legislation was, according to his intention, to be a mere question of time and convenience."

Throughout this period, Lord Ashley was full of anxiety. He had ever been an opponent of the Repeal of the Corn Laws; he had been sent to Parliament to defend them, but now he felt that defence was no longer possible. Staunch Protectionist as he had been, he could no longer conscientiously retain his old opinions; and he felt it to be his duty forthwith to avow his conviction, and, as a consequence, to resign his seat in Parliament. That this resolution was not arrived at without a struggle, the entries in the Diary abundantly testify. He was supported in the step he was about to take by Lady Ashley, who went with him, heart and soul, wherever duty called.

Jan. 15th.—Ought I not to be deeply thankful to Almighty God that He has given me a wife capable of every generous self-denial, and prepared to rejoice in it, if it be for the advancement of religion and the welfare of man? Oh, that my children may inherit, by God's grace, of their mother's spirit, and find their truest pleasure in the virtue and happiness of others!

Jan. 27th.—Ten o'clock at night. He (Peel) has just made his statement, and, to my mind, it is most satisfactory. The landed gentry ought to be content with the proposed adjustment; nay, thank God for it. If they do their duty by their estates and the people on them, they will be richer and more powerful than ever;

but I rejoice that this repeal of the Corn Laws will compel them to care, and to some effort, at least, towards improvement.

If I remain an M.P. I shall vote for it in all its parts, and throughout all its stages; but can I remain so? Though no pledges were given or asked, was there not between the electors and myself an 'honourable understanding' that 'Protection' of some kind should be maintained? If this be the case, I may not vote in direct contradiction of the principle; neither will I vote for it. Public necessity and public welfare both demand the repeal of the Corn Laws. I could justify such a vote before God, because I am convinced that it would be for the best for every material and moral interest; but I have entered into relations with men, and I must observe them, though it be to my own detriment. The slight influence I possess is founded on an estimation of character; if that be lost, I shall have nothing left for a 'stock-in-trade;' besides, I must recollect the principles I have maintained, the language I have held, the public professions I have made; and it will then appear far better that I should suffer any loss than give 'occasion to the enemies of God to blaspheme,' and say that, 'after all, your religious men, when they come to be tried, are no better than any one else.' Many would say this; many more would think it; and I should thus, by a deliberate act, have myself brought discredit on the public profession of religion; and, when I have endeavoured and prayed that all my conduct might be to the honour of God, I should have done more, in a single hour, to cast a stain on 'pious statesmen,' than I could render of service to His holy name in the labours of twenty years.

I remember, therefore, those blessed texts: 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.' 'Commit thy ways unto the Lord; and He will direct thy paths.' In this hope I will surrender all; and maintain my integrity, while I lose my office.

I shall resign my seat, and throw up all my beloved projects; all for which I have sacrificed everything that a public man values; all that I had begun, and all that I have designed. Nearly my whole means of doing any good will cease with my membership of Parliament.

But God's will be done: 'Though he slay me,' said Job, 'yet will I trust Him."

Notwithstanding the fact that the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws was occupying the attention of the great bulk of the people, the Ten Hours Bill was not allowed to languish. Lord Ashley, knowing that there was little time for him to act in the present crisis of affairs, left no stone unturned to advance the cause he had so much at heart. It was evident that there was an increasing inclination on the part of many of the large mill-owners to adopt his views. Not a few of them had made experiments in their own factories in shortening the hours of labour, and had found the results satisfactory. But there was still a strong opposition in Parliament on the part of those who held that any reduction in the hours of factory labour would tend to endanger the national interests. Many of the supporters of the League, however, had stated, both in and out of Parliament, that if the Corn Laws were repealed they would then vote in favour of the Ten Hours Bill, although many entertained the curious notion, that the necessity for factory legislation would cease in that case. Mr. Cobden had said, "The demand for labour will be so great that three masters will be looking after one man," and Free Traders, generally, took up this cry. The staunchest opponents of the measure, were those who objected on principle to any State interference with private rights, and foremost among these was Sir James Graham.

The skill and judgment, the indomitable perseverance and importunity of Lord Ashley in the conduct of this great cause, were displayed now in the

midst of circumstances of a peculiarly embarrassing nature.

On the 31st of January he resigned his seat. Two days before taking that step, he re-introduced into the House of Commons his Ten Hours Bill with every prospect of success. He set forth briefly the arguments bearing on the whole question, reserving for consideration only those arguments which showed that the proposed change would not injure the manufacturers nor seriously diminish the wages of labour. In support of his views, he adduced a large mass of important facts and information recently collected, including the results of experiments tried in several of the leading factories, as to the effects of shortened hours of labour. He read the remarks of the Committee of Operative Spinners, who had hitherto been extremely opposed to the clause which limited the labour of children to half-time, and who had written to him as follows :—

We also instituted an inquiry into the moral and physical condition of piecers and young persons now, as compared with the same class in 1833, and from every quarter we learn that it is much improved; and since the Bill of 1833, which restricted the hours of labour to eight in the day, and that of 1844 to six in the day, with enactments for education, their physical and moral condition has been improved to such an extent, that they do not appear to be the same race of beings. We have recently conversed with a large number of the operatives, and those men especially who have devoted a large portion of their time, and much of their means, to the promotion of this question, and they all declare that the benefits which have arisen to themselves and their children are more than sufficient to repay them for their time and sacrifices, and that sooner than go back to the old system they would part with the last shilling they have in the world in defence of the restrictive system of factory labour.

He deduced from this testimony the strongest case for further restrictions, and argued that the present system gave to female children a certain amount of teaching until the age of thirteen, and that then, at a period when the acquisition and experience of whatever is practical should begin, they were advanced to the full extent of adult labour, and debarred, by their unceasing occupation, from the attainment of the knowledge, indispensable to their welfare in life. They became unsexed in nature and habits by such constant abstraction from domestic duties, and all the community suffered in consequence. "There was wisdom," he said, "concentrated wisdom, in the saying of Madame Campan, who, in answer to a question of the Emperor Napoleon, 'What shall I do for the benefit of France?' replied without hesitation, 'Give us, sire, a generation of mothers.'"

All the strength of his opponents was put forth in the debate that followed, and Mr. John Bright was again conspicuous for the warmth of his opposition. He made, in the course of his remarks, a statement, to which Lord Ashley intimated he would reply at the close of the debate, and requested Mr. Bright to remain. Mr. Bright, however, thought fit to leave the House, and Lord Ashley justly complained of "great discourtesy on the part of the hon. member for Durham, who, having made a charge against him—a charge of a personal nature—had not remained in the House to hear his reply to it, although he had requested him to do so."

The circumstance which gave rise to the charge was very trivial in itself, but it may be quoted as a specimen

of the miserably weak character of the complaints brought from time to time against Lord Ashley by those who found that, in all probability, they were soon to be on the losing side of the factory argument.

In 1844, when on a visit to Lancashire, Lord Ashley was staying at Oldham, and, being within a very short distance of Mr. Bright's mills at Rochdale, thought he would go over there, not to inspect the mills, but "simply and solely that he might see the hon. member, or leave his name, because the hon. member having attacked him in the House in a way which was highly unjustifiable, he thought he would be acting, in colloquial phrase, 'like a gentleman,' to show him that he entertained no resentment towards him, and wished to meet him on friendly terms. He saw Mr. Bright's brother, conversed with him for half an hour, but did not go over the mills, first, because he did not wish it to be thought that he had come there to spy out some defect or discover some mismanagement in their arrangement, and next, because he had never said anything in disparagement of those mills. He believed himself to be thoroughly conversant with all the operations of mills, and did not deem it necessary to add to his experience by an inspection of Mr. Bright's. Yet that gentleman now denounced him as one-sided in all his statements because he had not gone over his mills!"

In the debate of that evening, Lord Ashley was well supported by Lord John Manners, Mr. Wakley, Mr. Fielden, and others, and the Bill was read a first time. Everything was ready for a further, and, it was hoped,

a successful campaign. But its future conduct was reserved for other hands.

He probably little thought when, on the 10th of May, 1844, he had said: "It may not be given me to pass over this Jordan; other and better men have preceded me, and I entered into their labours; other and better men will follow me, and enter into mine,"—that his words were to be, in some respects, so speedily fulfilled.

But, as we have seen, two days after he had re-introduced the Ten Hours Bill, conscience demanded that he should resign his seat in Parliament, and the future charge of the Bill devolved on Mr. Fielden, the Member for Oldham.

Jan. 30th.—Last night Ten Hours Bill. Through it, God be praised, without failure. Not in heart, not in vigour; but again I say, God be praised! . . . Most awfully reviled by Messrs. Bright, Trelawney, Roebuck, and Escott, of which I took no notice, except to clear away a misstatement by the belligerent Quaker. . . .

Jan. 31.—Heard from Farquharson. He gave me his own opinion, and, no doubt, the true one, that the yeomanry would consider me as 'acting in direct reversal of the principle,' &c. &c.; wrote, therefore, immediately for the Chiltern Hundreds, and am now, for the first time in nearly twenty years, no longer a member of Parliament! Many will condemn me, some for doing that which they ought to do; some for appearing to sanction the principle of delegation. Others will approve the course as wise and safe for public men. Much touched by the honest and virtuous sincerity of Fielden, Wood, and Philip Grant. They are, if any men be, deeply anxious and deeply interested that I should remain a member of Parliament, yet they did not hesitate for an instant. Moved almost to tears they were, while they applauded my decision, and hoped and believed that it would prove, eventually, the best.

Lord Ashley, although the most marked, was not the only man who changed his opinion at this time with regard to the Corn Laws, and who supported that change of opinion by the resignation of his seat in Parliament.

Referring to this circumstance, Sir Robert Peel, in one of the masterly speeches which characterised the period when the Corn Laws were being violently debated, said: "Look to the change of opinion that has taken place, not amongst mere politicians, which you are apt to attribute to some selfish or corrupt motive; but look at the opinions now expressed, of the sincerity of which conclusive proof has been given by some of the most honourable men that ever sat upon these benches. Did my noble friend, Lord Ashley, vacate his seat for the county of Dorset from any interested or corrupt motive? Did Mr. Sturt, or Mr. William Patten, avow their change of opinion from interested or corrupt motive? Did Mr. Tatton Egerton offer to vacate his seat for Cheshire, or Lord Henniker his seat for Suffolk, from any other motive than a real conviction that the time was come for the adjustment of the question of the Corn Laws? . . . No; and surely these afford proof that the Minister who should suspend the law, and give a guarantee to revive it whenever the period for suspension should pass away, would have enormous, insuperable difficulties to encounter."

Feb. 6th.—Bonham very anxious to see me yesterday before the post went out. It was to say that a few persons had contributed

two thousand pounds towards the expenses of a re-election. I found that Peel and Graham (is there an end of wonders?) were among them! Their language was generous and delicate; they instructed Bonham to say that they considered a great public principle was involved in my re-election; that their assistance conferred no personal obligation; that if I were returned, and the next night moved the Ten Hours Bill, and by success drove them from office, they should consider that it was simply within the compass of my inevitable duty. I did not refuse at once. Such a decisive course has always somewhat of harshness in it; but refuse I shall, because acceptance of aid of that kind, however guarded and delicate the terms, limits independence of thought and action. The parties who confer the favour may expect nothing, but the party who receives it has a sensation of being fettered. A requisition, I hear, to be got up on Protestant grounds. God grant that I may ever stand firm *there!*

Feb. 9th. Wrote to decline, very civilly and even thankfully, offer of two thousand pounds. . . . *Times* of yesterday contains address of the Short Time Committee to electors of Dorset. It is excellent, and, to me, most gratifying. . . .

Feb. 13th.—Wrote yesterday address to announce that I could not fight the purse of the County, and must, therefore, decline a poll.

On the nomination of a candidate to supply the vacancy caused by his retirement, Lord Ashley took the opportunity to explain in person to the electors of Dorset his altered views.

Feb. 19th.—Dorchester. *Non nobis Domine.* I have never spoken so forcibly in my life. It touched, I could see, and I have heard, half convinced, many of my opponents.

Having taken so important a step, which seemed vitally to affect the Ten Hours movement, and consequently the welfare of tens of thousands of operatives, it was necessary that Lord Ashley should seize the earliest opportunity to go again amongst the factory-

hands to explain to them his action, and its bearings upon the great question in which their interests were so deeply involved.

March 2nd.—Manchester. . . . It was a mighty comfort to these excellent operatives that I promised to visit them. Large and crowded meeting in Town Hall. . . . Operatives in general feel that I have advanced the question by the mode and subject of my retirement. I told them that I had nothing to serve them with but my personal character; that, had I continued in Parliament, while I retained my seat, I should have lost my reputation; holding the opportunity, but throwing away the means to do them service. . . .

March 4th.—Preston. . . . This is hard work. Shall I accomplish it? Would to Heaven I were home again! Monday, from London to Manchester, and meeting in the evening; Tuesday, to Preston, and meeting; Wednesday, to dine with Thomas Fielden, and meeting at Ashton; Thursday, to inspect large mad-house, and a meeting at Bolton; Friday, Oldham; Saturday, to Bradford, and dinner with Walker. God grant that Sunday may be quiet! Monday, meeting at Bradford; Tuesday, Halifax; Wednesday, Huddersfield; Thursday, Leeds; Friday, homeward, God be praised. This is the pertinacious, unwearied revolution of a steam-engine! . . .

Not satisfied with myself. Monstrous difficult to find a fresh speech every night, and more difficult, too, to make them run on the soft, conciliatory line; to avoid all exciting topics, and, so that we may attain our end, to leave out, in fact, all our reasons for it! I want to propitiate the masters, and yet encourage the workpeople. 'Soft sawder' to the mill-owners (unless it be skilfully applied) is a damper to the men; and a stirrer to the men is a damper to the mill-owners. Nevertheless, by God's blessing, I have hitherto been passably successful. . . .

March 20th.—London. Received two days ago an address, agreed to unanimously by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, and signed by Dr. McFarlane, as Moderator. It spoke of my services and of the good that, under God, I had been enabled to effect for the working people of the realm, with many expressions of esteem, gratitude, and affection. Surely this is a remarkable event; that it is a most gratifying one I can best decide. Its peculiar

value is well described in Seeley's * letter to me on the subject. 'I was much struck with the movement of the Free Churchmen. . . . It was such a spontaneous motion; the people have so little connection with you. There is no party object concealed, all these things gave it value. Also, these are sour, hard men, the Cameronians of our time. Also, they have raised, among the middle classes and the poor of Scotland, nearly a *million sterling* in the last three years—a thing unprecedented. Therefore I hold that document to be of value to your children. I hope, too, that it is a *shadow cast before.*'

The second reading of the Ten Hours Bill, which Lord Ashley had introduced, was moved by Mr. Fielden on the 29th April, and a debate, lasting the whole day, ensued. At its close Sir James Graham announced the determination of the Government. "There ought to be no hesitation on the part of the executive Government in a question of this kind," he said, "and I announce our firm determination to resist the further progress of this Bill."

For days beforehand, Lord Ashley had been in a state of great anxiety and suspense. He had learned that, despite the unanimity at the meetings in Lancashire and the West Ridings, the operatives had yielded to the intrigues of Mr. Hindley, and were willing to accept a compromise in the shape of an Eleven Hours Bill. To this he was steadfastly opposed, but he could not interfere with any vigour, as he felt sure he would be misrepresented, either as wishing to favour the Government, or, as endeavouring to keep the measure in his own hands. It must have been with a heavy heart that

* Mr. Seeley was the well-known publisher of that name.

he went to the House on the night of the second reading, but he refers to it in his Diary very briefly :—

April 29th.—Factory Bill in House of Commons. Waited in lobby. Had not spirit to attend under the gallery. Many things will be started in debate which no one can refute but myself. Alas ! alas !

April 30th.—So Sir James Graham and his colleagues have declared themselves against the Factory Bill. Heartless and dishonest men ! The whole debate proceeded, and will proceed, on a lie ; on the lie that the Bill is directed to the control of the labour of grown men ! Alas ! alas ! I must have fallen very low, or this proposal would not *now* be treated so contemptuously.

The debate was adjourned for a week. It was resumed on the 13th May, and again on the 22nd, when Lord John Russell spoke warmly in its favour, and Mr. Macaulay supported the Bill in one of his brilliant orations. When the House divided, however, the result was the loss of the Bill by a majority of 10. For, 193 ; against, 203.

But influences were at work which were nevertheless greatly to expedite the movement.

On the 26th of June, the same day that saw the Corn and Customs Bill receive the Royal Assent, the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel was defeated, on the Irish Coercion Bill, by a majority of 73. The result was, the resignation of Sir Robert Peel and the return to power of Lord John Russell and the Whigs. It was now felt that new prospects of success were opening up to the advocates of the Ten Hours Bill, as Lord John Russell, and several of the members of his Government,

were pledged to the principle of that Bill. It was impossible to renew the question in the House that Session, and therefore the whole energy of its supporters was directed to keeping the interest in it alive in the country.

The fall of the Peel Ministry was a source of considerable satisfaction to Lord Ashley. We append two extracts from his Diary, in which he gives, very clearly, his estimate of the character and career of the deposed Minister :—

May 18th.—On Friday evening Corn-Law Repeal Bill passed third reading. Disraeli made one of his invectives against Peel—very pointed and powerful. Though I should not have spoken it myself, I am forced to admit the truth of it ; though bitter in principle and motive, it is hardly exaggerated in imputation. This statesman's career is without precedent in the history of politicians : he has begun by opposing, and ended by carrying (not simply supporting) almost every great question of the day. He has availed himself of the virtues and vices, the wisdom and the prejudices, the desires and fears, of his friends and adherents ; for them or against them, as his purposes required. He denounced 'party' that he might set up 'Peelism,' led the Tories and followed the Whigs, holding power by the first and seeking praise in the second. His opinions, I suspect, have ever been discordant with his conduct. He thought with Canning on the Roman Catholic question, but acquired consequence, distinction, power, and a party, by heading the resistance to it. When resistance had become troublesome, and raised impediments in his way, he changed his front, developed his opinions, seduced some of his followers, and browbeat the others.

He is forced out of office. His whole life is bent to discredit the Whigs, and weaken their hold on the helm of power. All the changes that could be rung on the bells of Popery, O'Connell, Protestant Church, are performed by his friends ; he stands by, and, though he guards himself against any precise and indisputable statements, which

may rise, ghost-like, out of Hansard, he leaves every one to suppose that he shares the sentiments and approves the policy. Can any one doubt that he saw and encouraged those notions in the public mind, hoping and believing that they would restore him to power? His language to the Scotch deputation, as recorded by Fox Maule in the Maynooth debate, would alone be sufficient to prove that assertion; his language in private once to me, as I rode with him in the Park, that the cry of 'No Popery' had become necessary, plainly exhibited what was passing through his imagination. I do not doubt, myself, that he had at that time resolved, should he arrive at office, to endow Maynooth!

Again, in 1841, had he not conceived—nay, more, devised—the plan which he has since propounded? Had he not long disliked the men by whom he was supported? and had he not determined to sacrifice them to the commendations of his antagonists?

Cunning, I fear, has ever ruled him; he has employed it ardently, though awkwardly, in the Factory Question; he will employ it, should he remain in office, in the matter of the Protestant Church in Ireland! . . .

June 26th.—Government defeated by a majority of 73! Far larger than I had expected. Peel must retire, having reduced Parliament, party, and men's minds, to the original chaos. Will he learn from this result his own miserable want of foresight and discrimination? Not one of those whom he had hoped to conciliate, not a Whig, or a 'Leaguer,' to whose principles, and for whose applause, he had sacrificed his own consistency, voted in his behalf! All the Whigs against him! Cobden against him! Bright against him! Where are his hopes, and Graham's, drawn from their resistance to the Ten Hours Bill?

Before proceeding to describe Lord Ashley's manner of occupying the time during which he was out of Parliament, a few extracts from his Diary, which have been omitted in order not to break the thread of the narrative relating to Factory Legislation, may be given here.

Referring to reverses in New Zealand, in 1845,

when Colonel Despard was defeated by the Maoris, with a loss of 500 killed and wounded, he writes :—

We cover the world with our colonies, and yet we have not, or practise not, one single healthy principle of colonisation! This last was the best imagined of all. Religion went hand-in-hand with political government, and we have, nevertheless, fallen short of the mark. I should like to make each colony, so far as possible, a transcript of the mother-country. I would protect and train it unto its riper years, and then give it, like a full-grown son, free action and absolute independence. Thus Old England would not be ashamed when she 'spoke with her enemies in the gate.' . . .

In Indian affairs Lord Ashley always took a deep interest, and day by day, as the news arrived, commented on the war in which our arms were engaged.

February 24th.—Details from India show a sad loss in officers and soldiers. Sir Robert Sale killed! But we have gained a victory, and a just victory, without rapacity or aggression. Yet, glorious as it is, I rejoice as much in the noble proclamation of the Governor-General, as in the triumph itself. Here is, at last, for the first time since the days of Nelson, a direct, open, and pious recognition of God's goodness in giving success to our arms. The order is dated on Christmas Day, and closes with these paragraphs :—

'These grateful and heartfelt acknowledgments to the army for its services cannot be closed without humbly remembering that our thanks are due to Him who is the only Giver of all victory, and without whose aid the battle is not to the strong.

'The Governor-General, therefore, invites every British subject at this station, to return thanks to Almighty God, this day, at eleven o'clock, for the mercies He has so recently vouchsafed us, by assembling at the Governor-General's tent, where prayers and thanksgivings will be read by the Governor-General's chaplain.

'By order of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India.

'F. CURRIE,

'Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.'

April 1st.—A third great victory over the Sikhs in India. God has put honour upon Hardinge, who humbly offered honour to Him.

April 2nd.—I trust that Hardinge will not fail through excess of magnanimity. His conditions must be severe; he must demand, and see effected, the total dispersion of the Sikh army. The interests of civilisation, the only object which has reconciled us to this war, are involved in such a policy. . .

April 3rd.—Hardinge's despatch (*Times*, April 2nd) containing his ultimatum to the Sikh Government is of the noblest order—dignity, moderation, justice, good feeling, and sound sense, appear in every expression. He has done inestimable service to the character of his country. . . . I admire nothing more than the unanimity and unselfish friendship of all the officers; no jealousy, no self-seeking; the interests of the country predominant. What faithfulness in the native troops! Surely, this speaks well for the equity of our Indian Government. . . . 'I could have wept,' says the gallant old Gough, 'over the carnage in the Sutlej, had I not remembered the deliberate cruelty those men had exercised towards the wounded and dying.' Never was Divine retribution more manifest, never justice more signal! This army, stained with years of profligacy and murder of kings and ryots, of friends and foes, wantonly invades the British Empire, threatening fire, spoliation, and bloodshed, even to the walls of Delhi; and, almost in the twinkling of an eye, is 'melted like snow in the glance of the Lord.' . . . These events have seized hold of my imagination; and, thank God, I do feel the sentiment of gratitude and glory very deep in my heart.

April 5th.—Sunday. A thanksgiving is to be appointed. Praised be God for this! Heard yesterday from Peel. 'We shall thus break through a bad principle, which has hitherto prevailed, of not returning thanks to God for Indian successes.' These are his words; I am grateful for them.

Towards Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Ashley entertained feelings of strong personal friendship. A letter from Sir Henry, who was this year created Lord Hardinge, bearing upon the important events just recorded, will be read with interest:—

Sir Henry Hardinge to Lord Ashley.

SIMLA, *May 20th*, 1846.

MY DEAR ASHLEY,—I am very much obliged to you for your letter. There is no man's approbation I value more than your own, proceeding from a friend who has proved the sincerity of his principles by his actions.

It has been a source of great consolation to me, in the midst of the turmoil of the camp, that the war into which I was so reluctantly forced, is admitted by all to have been a just war, and that no efforts were omitted to avert it. A righteous cause is the best propitiation for the aid of the Great Disposer of all events.

This overgrown Empire requires consolidation and peace. We have the protection of the whole, as the paramount Power, with the resources of one-half only of the soil; and I should have been very glad indeed, as the most prudent policy at the present time, to have kept the Sikh nation as the advanced guard on our north-west frontier, opposing a Hindoo Government to the Mohammedans and Afghans, on this the most vulnerable point of our Empire.

I have strengthened our own frontier by annexing a valuable portion of the Punjab to the British Empire. I have established a Rajpoot Principality of the Hills as a counterpoise to the Sikhs in the Plains. I have disbanded their mutinous army and deprived it of 256 pieces of artillery; one and a quarter million has been exacted for the war expenses, and the Sikh power, curtailed of more than one-third of its territories, now only exists by the aid of the British garrison occupying Lahore.

I could not have annexed a very difficult country, larger than England in extent, with 15,000 infantry, including 3,200 British infantry, in February last. But if the experiment of re-establishing a Sikh Government should fail, we must annex the whole, *even up to Peshawur*. It is too early to say whether the experiment will fail or succeed. It was impossible to have done more for want of means. What has been done has been accomplished in sixty days, and whilst it lasted, I hardly ever recollect severer fighting.

Our countrymen are noble fellows, and these Sikhs, drilled by French officers, are undoubtedly the most warlike race to which we have been opposed in the East.

Jocelyn is a most satisfactory Secretary to have to deal with. He comes to the point, and is very clear, and the Board of Control will suffer a severe loss whenever he retires.

Conceive what an army this is to move. I had 15,000 infantry at Lahore, and, in camp-followers, &c., 100,000 mouths to feed daily. The Sikh army, having no difficulties of caste, are rough and ready, and I long to enlist 10,000, but then, we shall not find them so docile and faithful as our Hindoostanees.

Ever, my dear Ashley,

Yours very sincerely,

H. HARDINGE.

A charge, if charge it may be called, was brought against Lord Ashley very frequently, and at various periods of his life, that he took a gloomy view of things, and was too apt to look upon the dark side of every prospect. He refers to this in the following entry :—

Jan. 19th.—Yesterday Elliott * gave us, as he always does, blessed be the man, a most pious and excellent sermon—he touched the signs of the times, and took, first, the good signs, reserving the bad ones for a second discourse. He spoke of those who (and therein, probably, with a glance at me) ever saw what was dark, and never what was bright on the far horizon. Well, it is true. Evil is more powerful and lasting than good ; evil is natural, good is un natural ; evil requires nothing but man as he is, good must find the soil prepared by the grace of God. It is far more difficult, in a period of specious tranquillity, to alarm than to soothe, to rouse than to lull, mankind. For one who is active to avert a distant peril, I will find a hundred who repose in present security. The prayer is as needful for nations as for men, 'So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.'

* Rev. H. V. Elliott, of St. Mary's, Brighton.

It was not always that he entertained these gloomy views, as an entry on another page testifies :—

> Wilberforce was much harassed by letters and interviews on cases of conscience ; he was selected as the spiritual adviser of many parties. No one holds such a place in the present day ; and we may draw, from this fact, the pleasing inference that the number of good, and pious, and qualified men is very greatly increased. The revival of religion and activity among the clergy has furnished, to nearly all who may desire it, the means of spiritual edification and support ; a true counsellor may be found nigh at hand in a thousand localities.

No sooner was Lord Ashley "out of Parliament" than he entered on a campaign to which he had long looked forward, whenever he should have the leisure to undertake it. That campaign was a visitation of the slums of the Metropolis, with a view to assist the work of the Ragged Schools, the London City Mission, the Labourers' Friend Society, and other organisations for the welfare of the poor, and also, to institute a rigid examination into the dwelling-houses of the humblest of the working classes.

Before we follow him in this crusade, we must go back a little in order to see what progress had been made in the development of the Ragged School system, and to speak of the history and operations of the London City Mission and also of the Labourers' Friend Society.

Thankful as Lord Ashley had been to have his attention drawn, in 1843, to the Field Lane Ragged School, and earnest as were his endeavours to assist the labourers there, it was clear to him, and

to everybody who had anything to do with the poor of London, that no isolated efforts could affect the general condition of the waifs and strays of the Metropolis. There were thousands of the children of the lowest and most ignorant classes springing up, "sturdy of growth as weeds in a wheat field, and, like the latter, gaining daily increase of strength at the expense of the honest grain." They swarmed the streets; they gamboled in the gutters; they haunted the markets in search of cast-away food; they made playgrounds of the open spaces; they lurked under porches of public buildings in hot and wet weather; and they crept into stables or under arches for their night's lodging. They lived as the pariah dog lives, and were treated much in the same way; everybody exclaimed against the nuisance, but nobody felt it to be his business to interfere.

The first practical effort to reach these outcast "city Arabs," as they were called, was to lure them to the Ragged Schools. But these were few and far between, and, each having an isolated and independent existence, was helpless to grapple with the evil, in any degree commensurate with the need.

It became evident, to some who were deeply interested in the matter, that the strength of these organisations would be greatly increased by union, and in April, 1844, the first steps were taken to institute a society which has done an amount of good altogether incalculable—the Ragged School Union—with which the name of Lord Shaftesbury will always be intimately associated.

Lord Shaftesbury was scrupulously exact in giving "honour to whom honour was due," and would not allow himself to be styled the "Founder" of a society when that honour was due to another. As we have seen, he was not the founder of Ragged Schools, nor was he the founder of the Ragged School Union.

On the 11th April, 1844, Mr. S. R. Starey, at that time a solicitor's clerk, invited a few Ragged School Teachers to meet him at his rooms, No. 17, Ampton Street, Gray's Inn Road. Only three responded: Messrs. Locke, woollen-draper, Moulton, dealer in second-hand tools, and Morrison, a City missionary; an uninfluential band to all appearance, and yet they discussed the hardest problem of that day, and came very near to a solution when they resolved, "That to give permanence, regularity, and vigour to existing Ragged Schools, and to promote the formation of new ones throughout the Metropolis, it is advisable to call a meeting of superintendents, teachers, and others interested in these schools, for this purpose." That was the first step towards the foundation of the Ragged School Union, and those three unknown men were the founders.

On the 26th April, forty superintendents and teachers responded to the invitation and met at the St. Giles's Ragged School, held in the loft of a cowshed in Streatham Street, Bloomsbury—a neigbourhood known as the Rookery of St. Giles's; notorious for its filth and fever, its riots and immoral revels, its rickety and dirty dwellings, and its teeming population of the lowest of

the low. Here this little band of Christian workers formed themselves into a Central Committee, and on the 5th of July they decided that this association of teachers should be called "The Ragged School Union." At first they were anxious to affiliate themselves to the London City Mission, and a formal proposition to that effect was made, but it was wisely declined, as the City Mission had, even then, more work in hand than it knew how to manage. Messrs. Locke and Starey were appointed Secretaries, and requested to draw up the rules for the regulation of the Union. It was only for a comparatively short time, however, that Mr. Starey was able to act as Secretary, owing to business demanding his removal from London, when Mr. J. G. Gent was appointed to fill the vacancy, an office he has retained for thirty-five years. In November, six months after the Union was originated, Lord Ashley was asked to give the weight and influence of his name and personal assistance to this feeble and somewhat insignificant body of workers, by becoming President of the Union. He responded thus:—

Lord Ashley to Mr. Wm. Locke.

November, 21, 1844.

Sir,—At the instant I had the pleasure of receiving your letter I was contemplating a walk to Field Lane, that I might hear what progress was making in your admirable undertaking.

I shall be happy to aid you to the full extent of my power, but I am disposed to advise a little deliberation before we set up a Society with all the apparatus of a President and Patrons. I shall return to London, I hope, on Monday next; it will then give me

pleasure to see you and hear your report. We may, I think, do much for these poor children.

God be with us ! Your obedient servant,

MR. WILLIAM LOCKE. ASHLEY.

From the time that Lord Ashley joined the movement, the Ragged School Union grew in importance and usefulness, and for over forty years his love for, and zeal in the cause never knew abatement or change. For a great portion of this time the Union was under the direction and responsibility of a Committee elected at each anniversary, and of an Executive consisting of *Shaftesbury*, President, *Wm. Locke*, Hon. Sec., *Joseph G. Gent*, Secretary, whose names appeared in all public announcements, and on the certificates obtained by deserving scholars. These are not very common names, and yet we find them standing in similar relative positions 200 years ago.

Charleston and Carolina are names given in honour of our King Charles II. The city of Charleston, stands on a narrow slip of land, bounded on the north side by the Cooper River, and on the south side by the Ashley River. The names of these magnificent streams, which, at their junction, form the harbour of Charleston, were given in honour of the first Earl of Shaftesbury. The greater part of America was at that time a wilderness, and at the disposal of King Charles II. By means of a Royal Charter, the King gave to the Earl of Shaftesbury and some others, the whole tract of country between the parallels of 29

deg. and 31 deg. 31 min. N. latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This included an area of 500 miles from North to South, and of 2,500 miles from East to West. Now comes the remarkable coincidence of names. *Shaftesbury* was the most active and able of the eight proprietors, and, by agreement, undertook to frame a constitution for the embryo colonies, suitable to the period and the vastness of the territory. Assistance was required by him, which he obtained from the illustrious *Locke*. The constitution drawn up contained 120 articles, and in its day was considered a grand model; but, in reducing the theory to practice, mighty difficulties intervened. With a view to lessen these difficulties, and to facilitate the working of the great scheme, the services of a Mr. T. A. *Gent* were secured. This gentleman visited the country, and afterwards brought out a volume entitled "A Complete Discovery of the State of South Carolina," which seems to have been eagerly caught up by the public, as three ships were soon sent out filled with emigrants. They settled at Oyster Point, as the neck of land was called, at the junction of Ashley and Cooper Rivers. On this spot they built a village which grew into a town, and, at length, developed into one of the strongest cities—so strong as to seem to be impregnable.

Such were the labours of Shaftesbury, Locke, and Gent 200 years ago; and, in another sense, such were the labours of Shaftesbury, Locke, and Gent in recent times; but "the labours of the latter trio have been to reclaim the moral wilderness, to purify and cultivate

the moral wastes, and to set up spiritual fortresses that shall be unassailable by the great enemy." *

The years 1844-6 were memorable in the life of Lord Ashley if only on the ground that they saw him publicly espousing the cause of poor ragged children and organising fresh efforts in their behalf. The years were memorable in the history of the Metropolis, for they saw the commencement of a series of philanthropic labours which were, in some measure, to improve the condition of the outcast poor, to check the existing evils, and to avert the calamities which many feared. When Dr. Arnold considered the state of society about this time, he said :—"It haunts me, I may almost say, night and day. It fills me with astonishment to see anti-slavery and missionary societies so busy with the ends of the earth, and yet all the worst evils of slavery and of heathenism are existing among ourselves. But no man seems so gifted, or to speak more properly, so endowed by God with the spirit of wisdom, as to read this fearful riddle truly; which, most Sphinx-like, if not truly read, will most surely be the destruction of us all." †

Lord Ashley had "the spirit of wisdom to read that fearful riddle truly." He heard, as he believed, the voice of God speaking directly to him, and he went forward heart and soul into Ragged-School work.

A few extracts from the Diary on the subject of

* *Ragged School Union Magazine.*
† Stanley's "Life of Arnold."

Ragged Schools will show the progress of his thought and action in their behalf:—

Nov. 27th, 1845.—Last night Broadwell Infant Ragged School; very humble, but very useful; well received. . . . Many Dissenters; but it is high time to be thinking where we agree, not where we differ. Tens of thousands of untaught heathens in the heart of a Christian Metropolis cry aloud to God for vengeance.

Dec. 11th.—Just come back from a tea-meeting in Jurston Street Sunday School, given to the ragged, half-starved, neglected children of the locality—a sight to thank God for! a sight to pray Him to perpetuate and extend!

I conceive I am acting in the spirit of the Bible and the spirit of the Church of England. I conceive that I am proving myself a true son of the Church in which I was baptised, and in which, by God's blessing, I will die. I am violating none of her laws, precepts, principles, or prayers; none. But, if the conduct I pursue be at variance with the doctrines and requirements of the Established Church, I shall prefer to renounce communion with the Church to abandoning those wretched infants of oppression, infidelity, and crime.

March 19th, 1846.—Last night tea party at Jurston Street Ragged School; in the Chair. A wondrous company on the platform; these things are now becoming 'fashionable.' Humanity will soon be considered 'elegant,' 'genteel,' &c. &c. Bishop of Norwich came; * a kind-hearted man, who goes, as he says, wherever he sees my name. Strange as it was to see a Bishop in the middle of a Dissenting school, surrounded by Dissenters, and supporting their efforts, yet it was well and usefully done.

During the long period of Lord Shaftesbury's Presidency of the Ragged School Union he was always in the Chair, at the annual meetings. But this was the least part of his work. Much of the success

* Dr. Stanley, father of the Dean of Westminster. He was the only Bishop who was ever seen on Ragged School platforms. All the others were, at that time, fearful of meeting Nonconformists.

of the Ragged School movement was due to the public meetings which were held in a great number of churches and chapels and halls in London and in the large towns. At these meetings Lord Ashley took the Chair on innumerable occasions, and in short, pithy addresses set forth the claims of the poor. More important still were the quarterly meetings of delegates from the Metropolitan Ragged Schools, at which he always presided, when every conceivable topic that could assist the teachers in practically carrying on the work was discussed, new plans were formed, and progress was reported. A merely cursory glance through the 30 volumes of the *Ragged School Union Magazine* and *Quarterly Records* will give some idea of the stupendous amount of work undertaken by him in this movement, but even a close study of those volumes will not give a full conception of what he wrought. For many years the ragged children of London were rarely out of his thoughts waking or sleeping ; he visited them in their wretched homes, he saw them at their daily work, he sat beside them in their schools, he let them come to his house to tell him their troubles ; he pleaded for them in religious and political assemblies ; he carried their cause into the House of Commons and into the House of Lords ; he interested the whole country in their welfare, and, as we shall see, he achieved wonderful results in their behalf.

The London City Mission had been established by David Nasmith, who had already set on foot similar institutions in Glasgow, Dublin, New York, and

elsewhere. It was in a room of his little house in Canning Terrace, on the bank of the Regent's Canal, on May 16, 1835, that he met two of his friends by appointment, and the story of their interview is recorded by him in these simple words: "After prayer we three founded the London City Mission, adopted our constitution, assigned offices to each other, and after laying the infant mission before the Lord, desiring that He would nurse and bless it, and make it a blessing to tens of thousands, we adjourned."

Such was the origin of one of the most admirable and valuable institutions of our time, and one that has been the means of conveying temporal and spiritual good to untold myriads.

Although Lord Ashley's name appears for the first time on the records of that Society towards the end of 1845, he had, immediately after his discovery of the existence of Ragged Schools, been in communication with it, and henceforth, in all his labours on behalf of the poor, he was to be indebted to the aid of the London City Mission, as it, in turn, was to be indebted to him.

How best to improve the condition of the labouring population of the country, was a question which he had long been revolving in his mind and which had demanded a large share of his energies. While recognising the value of every agency for bringing about the physical and moral elevation of the people, he was more and more convinced, as his knowledge and experience of their actual state increased, that it was utterly futile to

attempt to educate and raise the masses unless at the same time they were provided with decent homes.

Already he had stood forth as the pioneer of the great question which, in after years, was to become so conspicuous a feature of his labours—the Housing of the Poor.

In 1842 he had assisted in founding what was then known as the "Labourers' Friend Society," but was afterwards named the "Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes," the object of which was, not to accommodate the people on a large scale—such an undertaking would have been far beyond the power of a simple Committee—but to ventilate the whole question, and to keep in view the erection of Model Dwellings for all the varieties and grades of industrial life, and to show, in the buildings it would raise, what was necessary for the comfort and health and decency of the inmates, and also the lowest cost at which the structures could be provided and the rents imposed, consistently with a moderate though fair return of interest on the capital expended. It had also another object in view; it wished to prove that in such amelioration "the moral were almost equal to the physical benefits; and that, although numbers would decline or abuse the boon extended to them, many would accept it joyfully and turn it to good account." *

At first, Lord Ashley met with scant success in his labours in this direction, but once having put his hand to the plough, he was not the man to look back. The

* Article by Lord Shaftesbury in *Nineteenth Century*, xiv., p. 934.

time had not yet come for him to make any great public stir in the matter, but meanwhile he never lost an opportunity, of advocating the need of better dwellings for the poor.

In 1844 the first public meeting of the Society for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes was held at Willis's Rooms, and an influential company supported Lord Ashley in the chair. He vigorously exposed the lamentable state of affairs, in regard to the shameful dwellings in which the poor were compelled to live, and urged that if the Society thus inaugurated, only did the work that lay before it, it might, by strong representations to the Government, produce most beneficial results. "Unite all your efforts," he said, "for this one great object; give it a fair trial; be not discouraged by arguments, however specious, and failure is impossible. Soon you will see dawn, great moral, social, and political blessings for those who are the noblest material God ever gave a nation—the working classes of this country."

This appeal went far and wide, and one of the first to respond to it was the Prince Consort, who, in the following July, was graciously pleased to accept the office of President of the Society.

Now the time had come when, owing to the cessation of his Parliamentary duties, Lord Ashley had that leisure for labour which he had long coveted, and, as we have said, he determined to devote it to visiting the homes and haunts of the poor in the Metropolis. He chose for his companions a medical man, and one of the missionaries of the London City Mission.

There were two objects he had specially in view in the perambulations he was about to undertake; first, to explore the unknown parts of London and to see for himself the lanes and alleys, and more particularly the houses, in which the poorest of the poor and the lowest of the low dwelt; and next, to bring himself into personal contact with the people, so that he might better understand their thoughts and habits, and qualify himself to grapple with their need.

Such a mission needed no ordinary man, and Lord Ashley brought to it no ordinary gifts. Let any one who thinks it an easy task to win the confidence of the poor and the outcast; to speak words to them that shall draw out their real thoughts and feelings; to seek to benefit without patronising; to give counsel without preaching; to preserve his own dignity amid the rough and lawless, without placing any barrier to mutual approach; withal, to enter the abodes of filth and wretchedness, where every sense sickens, and yet to appear at home, and at ease; let any one try the experiment, and then—and not till then—the difficulty will be apparent.

Lord Ashley could do all this as few other men could. He saw in the miserable creatures before him, not thieves and vagabonds and reprobates, but men with immortal souls that might be saved, and with human lives that might be redeemed from their corruption. In the woman with unkempt hair and tattered garments, he saw, not the abandoned harlot, but the "woman that was a sinner," who might yet be brought to the feet of Him who would say to her, in the tenderest

of all human accents, "Go, and sin no more." But the whole heart of Lord Ashley went out to little children; he grieved over their past neglect, their present lack of opportunity; and he yearned over their future. It is no exaggeration to say that, in the whole course of his life, he hardly ever passed a ragged child in the street without the desire to stop and talk to it. Morning, noon, and night, the welfare of the uncared-for and the unthought-of children weighed upon his heart, and he looked upon any day as lost in which he did not do something, however little it might be, to make the weariness of their lives less weary and their sadness less sad. The words of the Master were ever ringing in his ears—"Feed My lambs."

He possessed, in perfection, the art of speaking to children, and few men ever spoke to them with greater effect; not because he was a "lord," nor because he brought sensible benefits wherever he went, but because he could lay hold of the heart of a child, and soothe it with gentle words, and because the accent, the tone, the smile, the whole bearing of the man, impressed even little children with the fact that he was intensely in earnest. No man ever received greater encouragement from visible results. Year after year he had seen the law of kindness produce the most wonderful effects on the minds of the wildest, the rawest, the most ungovernable children; often he had seen the heart melted, for the first time, by the language of sympathy and of love; often his voice had been like the voice of God speaking to the heart of a child. It was

always through the children that he hoped to win the parents. As the shepherd, with refractory sheep, will carry the lambs into the fold, certain that eventually the sheep will follow, so his efforts were mainly directed to reaching the children and to putting them in places of safety, as the surest means of alluring their parents thither. Wherever Lord Ashley went, during these perambulations, the people clustered round him in groups, and received him with respect. And it may be remarked here that, throughout his life, although he went freely among vagrants, paupers, harlots, drunkards, thieves and criminals of all kinds, the refuse of society, he never, on any one occasion, or in any circumstance, received an insult. Everywhere the people were grateful to him for the interest he took in their condition, and, in the large majority of cases, answered freely the questions he put to them.

Bad as he had expected to find certain quarters of the Metropolis, the actual state of things was a thousandfold worse than he had conceived possible. He found, in some cases, hundreds of human beings—equal to the population of a whole village—compressed and hidden in a dozen small and wretched houses packed in a court, the houses and court occupying less than the area of a good-sized barn, or a village church, or a moderate-sized emigrant ship. He saw how the people became liable to disease; why contagious maladies were not only bred and extended, but likewise why they clung to these places. He saw how utterly impossible it was for the physician to minister in them with any degree of

satisfaction or success, for everywhere the drainage was bad, the ventilation worse, and the light of heaven almost excluded. He saw, too, that nature was attempting to do her part towards that which sanitary reformers recommended: she was attempting to reduce the number of inhabitants, by commissioning fever, scrofula, and other diseases, to slay them.

One of the things that appears to have struck him with great force, and to have strongly laid hold of his imagination, was the terrible injustice involved in the want of sufficient accommodation. He found that in a large number of instances, it was not extreme poverty that had driven the inhabitants into these dreadful dens—as they were earning what, with proper management, might be called a decent living—but the exorbitant prices charged for accommodation. There were few house-rents so extravagantly high as those paid by the veriest outcasts of our streets. The tenant of a mansion paid a lower nightly rent, in proportion to the space he occupied, and the cubic feet of air he breathed, than did the miserable urchin who spent his two or three pence for permission to stow himself under a bed of a low lodging-house filled to suffocation by the most abandoned of all ages—one of the twenty or thirty inmates of a space not large enough for the accommodation of more than two or three.

It was necessary to the purpose Lord Ashley had in view, that publicity should be given to this state of things; and on the 22nd of May we find him at a meeting of the "Society for Improving the Condition

of the Working Classes," held at the Hanover Square Rooms, bringing the subject before an influential audience as vividly as it could be brought. "I do not," he said, "speak merely from book; I do not speak merely from the accounts that have been given me; because I have, not only in past years, but during the present year (having, from certain circumstances, rather more leisure than I formerly had) devoted a very considerable number of hours, day by day, to going over some of the worst localities in various parts of this great Metropolis." He startled his audience by some of the revelations he made, of rooms "so foul and so dark that they were exposed to every physical mischief that can beset the human frame"—so foul that when a physician, habituated to enter such places, visited them, he was obliged to write his prescription outside the door; of courts and alleys thronged with a dense and most immoral population of every caste and grade of character, but almost every one of them defiled by perpetual habits of intoxication, and living amid riot and blasphemy, noise, tumult, and indecency.

It was not enough, however, to state the evil; active practical steps must be taken to meet it, and Lord Ashley announced that it was the intention of the Society, if funds were forthcoming, to erect in the heart of the parish of St. Giles's a Model Lodging-House—a house where a young man coming up from the country for the first time, or others who wished to live in a place where some, at least, of the decencies of life were observed, might find a place of retirement and shelter at a

moderate rent. This was the germ of that great Model Lodging-House system, which has now sprung up in the neighbourhoods once occupied by reeking courts and alleys.

Not by lip only, but by pen also, Lord Ashley turned to good account the results of his perambulations. In the *Quarterly Review* for December, there appeared a startlingly graphic article from his pen, on "Ragged Schools," in which he gave the results of his own observations of the habits of the *clientèle* of those schools, founded upon his recent visitations. He says :—

It is a curious race of beings that these philanthropists have taken in hand. Every one who walks the streets of the Metropolis must daily observe several members of the tribe—bold, and pert, and dirty as London sparrows, but pale, feeble, and sadly inferior to them in plumpness of outline. Their business, or pretended business, seems to vary with the locality. At the West End they deal in lucifer matches, audaciously beg, or tell a touching tale of woe. Pass on to the central parts of the town, to Holborn or the Strand, and the regions adjacent to them, and you will there find the numbers greatly increased; a few are pursuing the avocations above mentioned of their more Corinthian fellows; many are spanning the gutters with their legs, and dabbling with earnestness in the latest accumulation of nastiness; while others, in squalid and half-naked groups, squat at the entrances of the narrow, fetid courts and alleys that lie concealed behind the deceptive frontages of our larger thoroughfares. Whitechapel and Spitalfields teem with them like an ants' nest; but it is in Lambeth and in Westminster that we find the most flagrant traces of their swarming activity. There the foul and dismal passages are thronged with children of both sexes, and of every age from three to thirteen. Though wan and haggard, they are singularly vivacious, and engaged in every sort of occupation but that which would be beneficial to themselves and creditable to the neighbourhood. Their appearance is wild; the matted hair, the disgusting filth that renders necessary a closer inspection before the flesh can be

discerned between the rags which hang about it; and the barbarian freedom from all superintendence and restraint, fill the mind of a novice in these things with perplexity and dismay. Visit these regions in the summer, and you are overwhelmed by the exhalations; visit them in the winter, and you are shocked by the spectacle of hundreds shivering in apparel that would be scanty in the tropics; many are all but naked; those that are clothed are grotesque; the trousers, where they have them, seldom pass the knee; the tail-coats very frequently trail below the heels. In this guise they run about the streets, and line the banks of the river at low water, seeking coals, sticks, corks, for nothing comes amiss as treasure-trove: screams of delight burst occasionally from the crowds, and leave the passer-by, if he be in a contemplative mood, to wonder and to rejoice that moral and physical degradation have not yet broken every spring of their youthful energies.

Of these nondescripts he is tempted to have eccentric doubts. "They look not like the inhabitants o' the earth, and yet are on't," and so he proceeds to investigate their natural history, their haunts, their habits, their idiosyncrasy, their points of resemblance to the rest of mankind, and the part they sustain in the great purpose of creation. This brings him, first, to their dwellings:—

Many a weary and pestilential search, and many a sick headache, will prove to the disgusted inquirer that a large proportion of those who dwell in the capital of the British Empire, are crammed into regions of filth and darkness, the ancient but not solitary reign of newts and toads. Here are the receptacles of the species we investigate; here they are spawned, and here they perish! Can their state be a matter of wonder? We have penetrated alleys terminating in a *cul-de-sac*, long and narrow like a tobacco-pipe, where air and sunshine were never known. On one side rose walls several feet in height, blackened with damp and slime; on the other side stood the dwellings, still more revolting, while the breadth of the wet and bestrewed passage would by no means allow us the full expansion of

our arms. We have waited at the entrance of another of similar character and dimensions, but forbidden, by the force and pungency of the odours, to examine its recesses. The novelty of a visit from persons clad like gentlemen, gave the hope that we were officials; and several women, haggard, rough, and exasperated, surrounded us at once, imploring us to order the removal of the filth which had poisoned their tenements, and to grant them a supply of water, from which they had been debarred during many days. Pass to another district; you may think it less confined, but there you will see flowing before each hovel, and within a few feet of it, a broad, black, uncovered drain, exhaling at every point the most unwholesome vapours. If there be not a drain, there is a stagnant pool; touch either with your stick, and the mephitic mass will yield up its poisonous gas like the coruscations of soda-water.

He draws a melancholy picture of children sitting in these depositories of death, in a silence broken only by an irritated scold or a pugnacious drunkard, their discoloured faces and shrivelled forms recalling the living skeletons of the Pontine Marshes. Nor are the interiors more inviting:—

The interior of the dwellings is in strict keeping; the smaller space of the apartments increasing, of course, the evils that prevail without — damp, darkness, dirt, and foul air. Many are wholly destitute of furniture; many contain nothing except a table and a chair; some few have a common bed for *all ages and both sexes;* but a large proportion of the denizens of those regions lie on a heap of rags more nasty than the floor itself. Happy is the family that can boast of a single room to itself, and in that room a dry corner.

These people, although all may not admit the necessity, have a conviction that they must live; and Lord Ashley proceeds to describe their modes and habits of life, their business and amusements. And then, having thoroughly aroused intense interest in the waifs

and strays of London, he plunges into a description of what Ragged Schools are doing to meet the need of these neglected creatures :—

> Ladies and gentlemen who walk in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day, can form no adequate idea of the pain and the toil which the founders and conductors of these schools have joyfully sustained in their simple and fervent piety. Surrendering nearly the whole of the Sabbath, their only day of rest, and often, after many hours of toil, giving, besides, an evening in the week, they have plunged into the foulest localities, fetid apartments, and harassing duties. We have heard of school-rooms so closely packed that three lads have sat in the fireplace, one on each hob, and the third in the grate with his head up the chimney ; and frequent are the occasions on which the female teachers have returned to their homes, covered with the vermin of their tattered pupils. All this they have done, and still do, in the genuine spirit of Christian charity, without the hope of recompense, of money, or of fame—it staggers at first our belief, but nevertheless it is true ; and many a Sunday-school teacher, thus poor and zealous, will rise up in judgment with lazy ecclesiastics, boisterous sectarians, and self-seeking statesmen.

Then, with that thorough mastery of detail which distinguished all his efforts, he quotes the statistics of crime—a terrible revelation of the state of society in those days—and he says :—

> Here is subject-matter enough for the sentimental, for spare tears, and wandering sympathies ! Those who, amidst the enjoyments of existence, seek the luxury of woe in a poem or a romance may learn that the realities of life are more touching than fiction ; and the practical alleviation of sorrow, quite as delightful as the happy conclusion of a novel.

He narrates some of the successes of those who have engaged in the work of rescue, and concludes :—

We are often met with the interrogatory—'What will you do with these children when you have educated them?' A reply may partly be found in the statements already given; but question for question—'What will you do with them if you neglect to educate them?' They are not soap-bubbles, or peach-blossoms—things that can be puffed away by the breath of a suckling; they are the seeds of future generations; and the wheat or tares will predominate, as Christian principle or ignorant selfishness shall, hereafter, govern our conduct. We must cease, if we would be safe, to trust in measures of coercion and chastisement for our juvenile vagrants; they are not too many to be educated as infants; they are far too many to be punished as adults. We must entertain higher thoughts for them and for England, and, with a just appreciation of their rights and our own duties, not only help them, by God's blessing, from these depths of degradation, but raise them to a level on which they may run the course that is set before them, as citizens of the British Empire, and heirs of a glorious immortality.

This admirable article was the means of giving a great impetus to Ragged School work. It was the talk of the town; people ran wild about it; extracts were inserted in all the papers; and innumerable people made applications to be taken to see the Ragged Schools.

Lord Ashley was greatly amused one day at hearing two men discussing the article.

"I believe it was written by Lord Ashley," said one.

"I don't think so, because his name isn't mentioned, and it isn't like his style."

"Those are the very reasons that make me think he wrote it," was the answer.

A few extracts from his Diary will show how completely absorbed Lord Ashley was in the beneficent work in which he was engaged:—

April 28th.—St. Giles's. This is my birthday. I am this day 45 years old. Praised be the Lord that hath fed me all my life long until this day. . . Starting for London, though day be tempting here, to take Chair at Ragged School as a sort of thankful offering and appropriate duty.

May 29th.—Dined yesterday with . . . The courtesies of life and ancient friendship demanded it. A splendid display of luxury and grandeur, yet unsatisfactory. The contrast so great to the places where I have passed so many hours lately, that I felt almost uneasy. The few pounds, too, that I want, and shall not obtain, for the establishment of Ragged Schools, seemed wasted in every dish. All this is very well, according to their wealth and station, now and then; but the crumbs which fall from their table are in scanty proportion to the number and abundance of their feasts. A greater simplicity, however, even in permitted things, would be more beneficial to the poor, to society, and to themselves. A life so led rivets 'the world in the heart;' and all the externals of good humour, pious language, and occasional charities, &c., &c., only contribute a hollow and delusive sanction to that system of things which the individuals, and the world at large, have pre-determined to be right, because they know it to be pleasant. . . .

May 31st.—Whitsunday. Broadlands. Day beautiful. Rose early, and went out, like Wilberforce, to make the field my oratory; but the prayers of the birds, and of all animated nature, had more, no doubt, of sincerity and less of murmuring than mine. We know well what we dislike and deplore; but little do we know or consider for what we ought to be thankful. I wish that every one would daily and hourly set before his eyes, and confess, his sin and the sin of his people: what we have received and done as individuals and as a nation; what we have left undone; what, in the despite of God's long-suffering, we persist in leaving undone; our hopes and fears; our loves and hates; our enormous wealth, and still more enormous covetousness; the cry of the poor, and the sensuality of the rich; and then, if there be but the smallest spark of grace in the soul, we shall, one and all, exclaim with Job, 'Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.'

June 8th.—Went to Lambeth on Ragged-School business; called on a poor Irishwoman whose husband had just committed suicide; bought, alas! a 'pledge medal' from the widow of a man who had

hung himself in a fit of intoxication! Took a short walk afterwards in Park with my sweet Mary and the baby; dear Evelyn accompanied me. May God be praised. Oh, if some Dives would give me two or three hundred pounds, the price of a picture or a horse, I could set up schools to educate six hundred wretched children! . . .

June 12th.—I am now begging for four objects—circulars out upon each. God give me, first wisdom, and then success! Busy in founding a Ragged School; peculiar evils require peculiar remedies. The natural history of these singular children cannot be read in any page of the natural history of man; they are things *sui generis*, nondescripts, unknown or uncared for, yet sharp enough for any mischief, and in numbers enough to cause any danger. God has made them immortal beings, and no system will receive His blessing that does not recognise their equality with ourselves. Alas! alas! I can set up a school which shall give education every evening to 280 children for £58 a year—hardly more than it costs to prosecute one criminal—and yet I can barely collect the sum!

The labours of Lord Ashley were all-consuming. His time was so broken to pieces by small details, public and private, that if, perchance, he had a quarter of an hour to spare, he hardly knew what to do with it; so many things offered themselves, that the period was exhausted in making the selection. For a long time he was only able to get through one book, of which he writes:—

June 16th.—Have crawled by degrees through a very entertaining Life, by Tytler, of Sir W. Raleigh. Energy, genius, speculative and practical knowledge of all kinds, unlimited courage and perseverance, promptitude at every moment, and adaptation to every circumstance. What a chequered life! what an unhappy close! Indignation and contempt towards that despicable reptile of the human race, James I., are impotent; but I feel them as though he stood before me. As dreams may be urged as an argument in favour of the immortality of the soul, so may this sense of injustice, perpetrated whole centuries ago, be maintained as a proof of final retribution!

Lord Ashley could not but think with some anxiety of the future, and ask himself the question, whether he should ever return to Parliament. Useful as his present labours were, he felt himself "like a man at sea without a rudder." He was constantly moving on, but not to the point he desired. He was collecting facts, examining evidence, and instituting inquiries, none of which he could turn to account as he wished. He felt that there was "no attraction or compensation in the study of human misery and degradation, except in the prospect of abating them," and in order to do this, he must be back again in Parliament.

At length the future shaped itself to him with some distinctness, and he wrote:—

June 1st.—I assume, if the Lord will, that I shall return very speedily to the House of Commons. What, then, shall I do? I must throw aside many questions in which I take a deep and glowing interest, because I have neither time nor strength for them all—Ireland, India, the Colonies. There is no likelihood that I shall be called to official life, and the study of them, therefore, is not altogether necessary. I have no party nor following, nor should I find support anywhere to my peculiar opinions on these heads; I should be individualised, and reduced to a single unit. I am somewhat differently situated, however, in respect to my especial questions; and to them, therefore, I must confine 'les restes d'une voix qui tombe, et d'une ardeur qui s'éteint.'

From these I shall select some three or four, such as I may hope to compass in either an equal, or less, number of years; and what a blessed thing could I hear the word spoken to Joshua: 'The Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest'!

I will take, first, the long-agitated, much-desired, and most blessed Ten Hours Bill; this, with a Parliamentary effort in behalf of the 'Ragged Children,' will constitute the work of next Session. I will then proceed with Church Reform, a reform that shall restore it to

the scheme of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and revive, if possible, the primitive examples; and the last that I dare to contemplate will open a series of exertions to aid, spiritually and physically, the oppressed, forsaken, and heathen children described and reported on by my Commission of 1840—a vast and foul mass, which our avarice has engendered, and our luxurious ignorance overlooks, and increases, and perpetuates. 'Who is sufficient for these things?' Not I alone, but any one, if God be with him. And, now, O God, the Father of the forsaken, the help of the weak, the supplier of the needy, who hast diffused and proportioned Thy gifts to body and soul, in such sort that all may acknowledge and perform the joyous duty of mutual service; who teachest us that love towards the race of man is the bond of perfectness, and the imitation of Thy blessed self: open our eyes and touch our hearts, that we may see and do, both for this world and for that which is to come, the things which belong unto our peace. Strengthen me in the work that I have now undertaken; give me counsel and wisdom, perseverance, faith, and zeal, and in Thine own good time, and according to Thy pleasure, prosper the issue. But, O Lord, pour into me a spirit of humility and fear; let nothing be done in a vain and wicked notion of righteousness and merit, but in devout obedience to Thy will, thankfulness for Thine unspeakable mercies, and love to Thine adorable Son, Christ Jesus, with a constant and hearty confession of sin and unworthiness, and everlasting hope through His merits alone, our only Redeemer and Saviour.

June 3rd.—Another object I have, but I can leave the special conduct of it to others, because societies are formed and joint-stock companies on foot; slow, it is true, and not very sure, but nevertheless in action—the health of towns and dwellings, of all *physical* questions the most important by far, and exercising a terrible influence on things *spiritual.*

In religious circles there was an almost restless activity; many important movements were beginning to strike root, and, to employ a Scriptural metaphor, often used by Lord Ashley to denote the early indications of new life in religious work, there was

"the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees."

Never was there a time when religion was brought more prominently forward, and public prayer more largely attended. To Lord Ashley this did not suggest relaxation of effort; on the contrary, he felt it was an hour in which every one should be up and doing, and he himself came forward more than ever into the forefront of the battle. In speaking of the religious aspect of the times at the meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society, he said: "Certain it is that wherever there is an advance towards God, there is always a proportionate, perhaps a greater, advance towards evil, such is the activity of the Wicked One; and you will never be able to ascertain until the day of conflict and decision shall have arrived, on which side is the preponderance of power. Our exertions, therefore, are more than ever needed." It was in this year that Lord Ashley became officially connected with the British and Foreign Bible Society as Vice-President—that Society which, in his youth, he had been taught to regard as revolutionary, and as undermining the foundations of Church and State! A few years later he became its President, and, until the close of his life, he never ceased to take the deepest interest in its operations.

Two other movements, of which more will have to be said hereafter, are referred to for the first time in his Diaries, in this year.

Feb. 28th.—Night before last took chair at 'Young Men's Christian Association.' Four hundred persons to tea, a very striking

scene—young shopmen, with their mothers and sisters, attending really in a religious spirit. Last night presided in Covent Garden Theatre at Anniversary of Metropolitan Drapers' Association for early closing of shops. Both these Societies have their origin in the Ten Hours movement.

The death of Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, had been a terrible blow to the friends of the enterprise he inaugurated. He seemed to have been a man with the special gifts and graces essential to the trust reposed in him. His own zeal helped to keep alive the zeal of those who, full of hope for Israel, lived in anticipation that the hour for their restoration to their own land would speedily arrive. The death of the Bishop, cut off in the midst of his labours, when engaged in his first episcopal visitation of the darkened kingdom of Egypt, threw a gloom over these hopes, which, as the years rolled on, were never again revived in the same intensity.

According to the terms of the arrangement made on the foundation of the bishopric, it was now the turn of the King of Prussia to appoint a successor to the See of Jerusalem. He selected Dr. Gobat, of the Church Missionary Society, a German by nationality, who was duly appointed, and retained his episcopate for thirty-three years. He was a man of high character and principle—an excellent man in every respect. Unfortunately, however, he was not without enemies, and, prior to his consecration, Lord Ashley had to defend him from some odium and calumny. He believed in the man thoroughly, and, throughout his career, gave

him hearty and persevering support in the difficult position in which he was placed. Notwithstanding opposition, Dr. Gobat's influence was felt throughout the countries over which his jurisdiction extended, and many abiding works have been left behind as memorials of his labours. As the years went by, other difficulties and dissensions arose; the bishopric did not answer the expectations formed of it; Jerusalem showed no signs of being "a city at unity with itself," and the saying of Newman, "I have never heard of any good or harm that bishopric has ever done," was bandied about until, at last, it was endorsed even by some of those who in 1844 were most enthusiastic in its favour.

July 5th, Sunday.—Attended to-day consecration of Gobat as Bishop of Jerusalem at Lambeth! a deeply interesting ceremonial! and God be praised that it is now accomplished; but may it in the Lord's mercy be the beginning of a new series of Gospel doings in England and the East! may it tend to hasten the Second and glorious Advent!

On the 7th of July, Lord and Lady Ashley, accompanied by their four sons, started on a tour in Switzerland in quest of health and repose. There were important reasons why—"at this season, in a time of great interest, of changing government, of schemes of his own, of Commissions in Lunacy, and sittings on the Malta College"—Lord Ashley should leave London. It was, however, contrary to his own wishes, and throughout the journey he was depressed and harassed by the claims of his many conflicting duties. "I am not very full of agreeable anticipations," he writes;

"a little low-spirited. My heart returns to my objects in public life."

From his ample Diary we shall only quote very briefly. The first halting-place on the journey was at Ghent.

. . . Went to see the Church of the Beguines. . . I cannot get over these Beguines; they seem to be the 'ne plus ultra' of uselessness. What purpose do they serve, 750 of them, beyond making a sight for curious foreigners, materials for a handbook, and aids to a rhapsody! Doubtless, the first view of the church was singular and, to a certain extent, impressive, but only from its novelty. The large white covering on the head of each gave an appearance as if the church were studded with pigmy tents, but then the silence of the assembly, and the attitude of prayer, struck the imagination, until the bursting of the organ into something like a jig, after a few notes of more reverential music, raised the eyes to the figure of the Virgin, the great object of their adoration, a doll of about two feet in height and figged out in a pink court-dress!

There is evidence in the Diary that, to Lord Ashley, the first few days of the tour were full of irritation and unrest. The cares and anxieties which had thickened around him of late, had left their impression; he was out of health, and jaded in body and mind.

The first real relief came to him, as it came in old time to the Psalmist, "in the sanctuary of God."

Sunday.—Attended service. An unknown man preached a sermon from the text, 'Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days.' He proceeded to enlarge on the hopes and duties of perseverance—never to be weary in well-doing, to banish despair, or even despondency, in the pursuit of things tending to the honour of God and the welfare of mankind. He directed his discourse specially to ministers with cure of souls; to philanthropists, and to parents. His observations were just, true, and affectionate;

he dwelt more particularly on the cares, anxieties, and disappointments of parents, and showed that they were seldom, if ever, without their fruit at the last; he considered their labours and their prayers as seed which might lie long before it sprang, and still longer before the harvest, but he held it to be nearly sure, as the fulfilment of a Divine promise. His entire discourse seemed a special message to my doubts and apprehensions, a spur to my discouragements, a balm to my failures, a word of exhortation to invigorate the mind into which I had fallen during the last few days! Blessed be His name!

At Carlsruhe, "built like a fan, of which the streets are the ribs, and the tower from which you see it the bulb," he enjoyed the forest scenery, and pronounced his rest there to be "good, very good."

July 16th. . . . Baden. Certainly, it is a lovely spot; nothing is common, nothing is without its point. The undulating hills all around, clad with the deep, close velvet of the Black Forest, keep the place at all times in a dress of state. But I am sure that it shares the climate of Aix and Carlsbad, and, down in its luscious valleys, would suck out every energy of mind and body. Ascended hill in a carriage to view Alte Schloss. . . . When one stands on the pinnacle of these remnants of former days, and surveys, even to giddiness, the terrible abyss below, the almost unassailable strength of the fortress, and endeavours to estimate the vice and violence against which these preparations were made, and the sorrows and fears their inmates must have often endured—first one heartily, aye most heartily, blesses God that our lot is cast in a milder and a better age; and then one proceeds to sympathise with those victims of robbery and murder, who, to flee from power, had made their nest in a rock. All this sentiment continues in full force until you descend to the Neue Schloss below, and there inspect the distressing dungeons and all the various inventions and appliances of incarceration and torture. These scoundrels inflicted as much as they suffered; it was defect of means, not excess of compassion, that restrained their hands; the wretch that screamed on the rack, or pined in the oubliette, had forecast the same for the monster that thrust him in. These things, although memorials of events long passed, turn me quite sick. I felt the same

at Ratisbon three years ago; I felt it here. Aye, well may we say with David, 'Let me fall into the hands of God, and not into the hands of men!'

July 17th.—Read one of the 'Tales of the Genii' to the kids, making such verbal alterations and omissions as propriety required. Works of fiction may be read in moderation with considerable effect; and specially such as these, where there is always a high tone of morality and sentiment. The author, by a hazardous attempt to render, by his descriptions, the indulgence of the passions odious, has excited thoughts which should ever be suppressed. The best way to avoid sin is not to know it; the knowledge of evil brought in both the practice and the love thereof.

July 18th. . . . These Germans lead an easy, sensual, sleepy life of placid and noiseless current. It is wonderful that creatures of such a vegetative habit should have produced, and should still be producing, men and things of so high an order. Intellectually they are very great; were they physically equal in their energies to the British people there would be nothing on earth to compare with them—but it is not so. One Englishman will perform his work in half the time that it takes two Germans to consider it, and whether it be the stoker of a steam-boat, a banker's clerk, or a commissioner of police, or a gentleman at dinner, the British nation will save both time and trouble. Surely their mode of life in the present day, their constant and friendly intercourse, their tranquil smoking, their baths, their gardens, their naps, their mid-day retirement, are a wonderful contrast to the savage conflict, the uproarious festivals, the dirt, the prisons, and the everlasting watchfulness against danger, of the Middle Ages.

Between Kehl and Strasburg, with "the air delicious, the tints on the mountains deep and rich, the snug and picturesque cottages embosomed in trees, the agreeable costume of the peasantry," there was sufficient to "have furnished a hundred thoughts to verse-makers and lovers."

In Strasburg a visit was paid to the grand monument of Marshal Saxe.

The piece of sculpture has made a great noise in Europe.* I confess that, greatly as I admired many parts of it, the figure of the Marshal made me laugh. He looks like a principal singer coming forward to the lamps at the theatre to give us a popular air; all smiles and self-possession. The female figure is unequalled, and there is much original genius and execution in the figure of Death. As for the British lion, the Dutch bear, and the sentimental Hercules, they are good, but irresistibly comic!

Much later in life Lord Shaftesbury took an active part in the movement in London for funeral reforms; and was even an advocate of cremation. It is interesting to catch a glimpse of his views on these subjects at this early date.

. . . Taken to see a dried Count of Nassau and his dried daughter, all in their fine clothing as they were embalmed and buried four hundred years ago. What is this passion that people have had, and still have, to battle with nature, and resist, if they can, the decree, 'Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return'? Do they believe in the resurrection of the body? If so, let them trust the power and goodness of God. Do they disbelieve it? What satisfaction to prolong the existence of a shrivelled, sapless, disfigured, and disgusting carcase! . .

Alsace suggests to him this query:—

Why did the Allies in 1815, when they adjusted the kingdoms of Europe, leave this German territory in the hands of France? It was acquired by fraud and violence, by the actions of war in a period of peace, under the authority of that arch-villain and exceeding charlatan, Louis "*le Grand.*" It is "as one of the royal cities," and should be restored to the German Confederation. I believe,

* It represents the Marshal as in the act of descending into the tomb, opened for his reception by Death, while a female figure, symbolising France, strives to detain him; and Hercules, in mournful attitude, leans upon his club.

however, that it is not ill-governed; and had it been restored to Germany would probably have been annexed to some second-rate Duchy.

In his journeys, Lord Ashley always took care to try and find out what signs of activity were being shown in Christian work, and at Basle, the "Holy City" of Switzerland, he discovered more regard for religion, than in any other town of the Republic. There were missionary establishments and Bible societies and Evangelical preachers and Sabbath observances.

Called on the Professor Hoffmann; found him kind, intelligent, and pious. He gave an encouraging account of the progress of Christian principle and Christian action in Germany. He stated that, seven years ago, he knew but five persons of station who took any interest in missionary operations; he now knows fifty; and that their meetings, which at one time were 'well' attended by twenty persons, numbered at present nearly four thousand.

As set against this, however, he found that the progress of systematic and avowed 'Freethinking'—the foe he was hereafter to meet in constant battle—was increasing to an alarming degree, and spreading even among the poorer sort.

Here is a peculiarity among the German *literati*; professorial chairs are held, and public lectures given, by men of open, acknowledged, and boastful Atheism; nor does opinion frown them down. We have bad people in England, but few dare to parade their make-beliefs with ostentation and joy.

. . . Saw the cathedral—curious, and worth the walk if it were only to pay respect to the memory of Erasmus. I have always a sneaking sympathy with that man; he saw the truth, loved it, and yet he dared not to be a martyr in the hour of trial. I fear I should have been a hare like him.

The fountains of the towns and villages, combining ornament and use in a signal manner, were to Lord Ashley a most agreeable feature :—

Had I a landed property I should erect them in every village for the convenience of the people. The resort to them in the evening recalls the primitive times and the narratives of Scripture. Just now, under the window, there are assembled at one fountain several women with their vessels, a number of naked-legged children, and many cows and oxen drinking. 'Our father Jacob gave us this well and drank thereof himself, his children, and his cattle!' . . . The sunset was lovely; and, as it lighted up the distant peaks of the snowy range of the Alps with its parting rays, revived the consolatory words of our blessed Lord, 'I will not leave you comfortless; I will come again unto you!'

On the Lake of Lucerne he recalls some of the deeds of patriotism achieved on its borders :—

But for my own part I feel no very great enthusiasm about Helvetic Liberties. . . . I find nothing to dwell upon, in the results of such actions, on the welfare of mankind. The world has gained no advantage in morals, politics, science or religion from the Swiss people; but the Swiss people have received an uncommon share of admiration and countenance from the world. God grant them virtue and peace. . . .

Even at such an early date as 1846, the hand of change was working wonders in Switzerland :—

Aug. 1st.—Interlaken. . . . I saw this place two-and-twenty years ago; it was then a beautifully rural spot, an Auburn to have delighted Goldsmith. Cows, cottages, and peasants, everything in harmony with the scenery around, and the few strangers who flitted past, or stationed themselves for a while in the modest inn, had all the air of travellers, persons who had trodden, or were preparing to tread, the mountains. This evening I drove along a miniature revival of the Parisian boulevards—shops, benches, groups of fashionables

in suitable conversation, hotels, casinos, and all that can banish the country and bring in the town. The hills are still high, and the pastures green, but they are peopled by a different race, and

'All, save the spirit of man, is divine!'

At Grindelwald the freshness and vivacity of the air gave all the party elasticity and spirit, "with a capacity," says Lord Ashley, "I, at least, had not known since I left England, to enjoy life." His admiration of the glacier was unbounded:—

Never was a river born so suddenly and so magnificently. It does not come creeping in a thread-like stream, from small and silent fountains, but gushes forth in full size, like Minerva from Jupiter's head, and rushing with thunder into an amphitheatre of mountains, escapes through the windings of the valley. On either side of these mighty pyramids of ice, stands an enormous mountain of naked granite, and behind them rise the lofty and terrible peaks of the Vischerhorn, covered with masses of everlasting snow. There they all stand in the stillest and most awful majesty, engaged, as it were, to watch the only thing that has sound and motion, the river, which issues forth from a beautiful archway, beautiful in the form and colour of the ice, at the foot of the glacier.

The illness of his son Maurice, who was one of the party, had given cause from time to time for great anxiety, and on the 4th of August, the following entry appears in the Diary:—

Maurice has become languid as a drooping flower; the good effects of the place are gone back; we must return without delay to England. . . .

The determination was not altogether in opposition to Lord Ashley's desires.

I felt wonderfully well, and gloriously enjoyed existence, when on the Wengern Alp; I know not that I have been really elastic at any other time during this tour.

They returned at once to Interlaken, and from thence the travellers proceeded to Berne, *en route* for Rotterdam.

Aug. 11th. . . . Berne is Protestant, no doubt, but its observance of the Sabbath has nothing in it of the 'sour, ascetic stiffness' of the old Puritans. The blue-book of Connecticut is reversed here; and if jollity can recommend the Reformed faith, let the gainsayers seek their refutation at Berne. The noise all night in the public street was that of 'men dividing the spoil;' they shouted, they sang, they marched, they ate and drank in the public saloons; and 'the tabret and harp were in their feasts.' Then came the cracking and re-cracking of whips, the rumbling of diligences, the argumentations of bedless loiterers. All conspired to drive sleep from my eyes, and respect from my heart for the police of Berne.

Aug. 19th.—Rotterdam. Went to see a Dutch Fair, amused beyond all precedent; could have spent hours, had but minutes. We must, if it please God, have at some future time a tour in Holland, and a leisurely one; nothing could be more interesting and instructive. . . . Why did we ever (God forbid that we should repeat such a folly) go to war with the Dutch? Our interests are alike; one or two trifling questions of trade may, for a while, place us in opposition, though on false grounds, but our great political interests, all that concerns our social and national positions, are the same. . . . A singular effect occurred last Sunday during the reading of the Communion service. A Roman Catholic procession had stopped to offer its adorations to the Virgin; and just at the moment when the song of idolatry began, the clergyman read, 'Thou shalt have none other Gods but me.' The response, 'Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law,' went with joy to one's very heart.

The passage from Rotterdam, occupying thirty-six hours, was accomplished in a dreadfully rolling sea,

with an adverse wind, heavy rains, and an awful thunderstorm, but owing to a severe attack of *mal de mer*, Lord Ashley says :—

I regarded them with the indifference of a man who has more important things to think of.

On the last page of the Diary there is the following note :—

This journal, like the three of preceding dates, re-opened for the first time (after having being written) in August, 1880. Never kept, afterwards, the journal of a tour. The re-perusal of them is best described in Cowper's words :—

'How soft the music of those village bells
Falling at intervals upon the ear
In cadence sweet, now dying all away,
Now pealing loud again and louder still,
Clear and sonorous as the gale comes on !
With easy force it opens all the cells
Where memory slept.'

And so here. What experience of life ! what tenderness of feeling, what truth of heart ! what depth of simplicity in these lines !

In all these journals, which I bequeath to my beloved daughter Victoria, there may be seen consistency of the past with the present. May have been right, may have been wrong, but at least do not contradict myself and make the last half of my life antagonistic to the first. Great infirmity, much trace throughout of original sin, and yet, though now, on a revision, could wish, were it possible, to add much to what is gone by, see nothing to take away. Never intended for the eyes of any one but of myself and of that beloved woman now gone to her rest, they are the entries of one day after another ; and everything may be said against them but the charge that they were not hearty and sincere. Victoria may find them interesting and, possibly, even profitable.

Almost immediately after his return to London, Lord Ashley received two important letters, one from

Bath, and the other from Oxford, inviting him to be the representative in Parliament of each of these constituencies. He briefly records the fact in his Diary, and adds :—

Nightmare ! and dreams all night. Went up, of course, 'for my degree.' *

Later on he writes :—

Oct. 3rd.—Offers from Bath to represent that place at the next election—replied that I wished to have some assurances and guarantees as to support and expense. Many, from the county, urge my reconsideration of Dorset; but the matter is very doubtful. The Protection party are determined to regain all that they have lost, and will, therefore, oppose my *at least quiet* return. I am not prepared with any seat, nor have I, except Bath, any prospect of one.

Dec. 26.—Many kind letters from Bath, still urging me to become a candidate, and engaging to bear every expense. I am not anxious to accept the offer ; I have, indeed, ceased to be anxious, at least I fancy so, to enter Parliament again ; but I must receive the deputation. I should prefer, no doubt, an honourable return to my own county, but my enemies there are bitter, and my friends are slow—every word that I read from the county confirms me in my judgment, that I ought not to place myself forward unless invited by a requisition, which, in all likelihood, I shall never have. . . .

The month of October found Ireland on the brink of starvation. Lord Ashley had maintained that every one ought, by private self-denial, to aid the legislative effort for relief, and abridge his own consumption, that "all might have a little." He never advised others to do what he was not prepared to do himself, and it is not surprising therefore to meet with these records :—

* He used to say that, whenever he had a restless or disturbed night, his dreams always recurred to the "going up" for his degree at Oxford.

Oct. 7th.—Found all provisions rising in price. Gave orders that no more potatoes should be bought for the house. We must not, by competing in the market, raise the cost on the poor man. He has nothing after this to fall back upon. . . .

Dec. 12th.—Ireland is manifestly set for our punishment, the slow but just punishment of a ruling power that thrust upon it Popery, anarchy, and unsympathising proprietors. The nation is irreconcilable to the Saxon authority. Our late repentance, and numerous benefits, are perverted to our injury. Famine stalks through the land. We expend money for their maintenance at the rate of £127,000 a week; and the starving peasantry can save, from this effort of mercy and munificence, enough to purchase arms to a greater extent than was ever before known for the assault and overthrow of their benefactors! And yet so besotted are we, that all this is turned into an additional argument for the endowment of the Irish priesthood! . . .

Dec. 29th. — Ireland is terrible, terrible, terrible. And the year 1847 will be worse than 1846. Counsel has perished from among us. We are at our wit's end. It is a just retribution for our sins towards that country. 'Be sure your sin will find you out.'

A few extracts from the Diary, selected from many, will tell, in the briefest way, what were the subjects pressing upon the thoughts of Lord Ashley towards the end of this year of ceaseless activity:—

Sept. 1st. — A Pope called Pius IX. has mounted the Roman throne. He is 'like the Son of Nimshi,' he 'driveth furiously.' He will soon be the most popular, as he seems to be the most liberal man of his day. Shouts attend him wherever he goes. His plans for 'reform' are more rapid and more extensive than the capacity, at the moment, of the people to receive them! To what will all this grow? Most assuredly these political advances cannot co-exist with the maintenance of ecclesiastical monarchy.

Sept. 5.—Took chair on Thursday, at Bunsen's request, to form Society for the Religious Care and Instruction of Foreigners, there being nearly one hundred thousand in this land, and totally

neglected. Tholuck, Monod, and some American divines attended. It was altogether highly interesting, and the scheme is one which we are bound to attempt.

Sept. 16th.—The 'Evangelical Alliance' is, like the Anti-Corn-Law League, a 'great fact.' It does not appear likely, however, to have practical results in the same proportion—its chief result, for the present, must be that such a meeting could have been collected and conducted on such principles and in such a manner.

Oct. 25th.—Dined last night with Kingscote, to consider plan for larger admission of laity to services in the Church. To be submitted to the Bishop of London. Our consultation seemed to prosper, and all present were of one mind. It is a great undertaking, and involves, so far as our human eyes can see, the permanency and efficiency of the Church of England.

Two days later Lord Ashley wrote to Lord John Russell to request an interview, in order that he might talk to him on the state of the Church, and on the 29th he called on him by appointment. The interview was a hurried one, but the conversation then commenced was resumed at a further interview on the 31st.

Oct. 31st.—I shall here enter the topics of our first interview. State of Universities; proportion of tainted men who yearly enter ministry; effect of their clerical conduct; indifference or indignation of people; progress of 'Gregorianism' among wealthy; result among people at large; Laud and Puritans; efforts of Tractarians to sever Church and State; hence their desire to see bishops out of Parliament; warned him against such a step without great consideration: cited conduct of Scotch bishops as proof of tyranny and ecclesiastical despotism in those who had no *public* responsibility; mentioned King Charles's Club at Oxford; and observed a dangerous precedent set by Archbishop of Dublin; appointments of bishops, so far as possible, from those who have had parochial experience; assured him that, through human infirmity, bishops in general inclined to High Church rather than Low, and would be blind to many Tractarian tendencies in one who exalted the episcopal office. To-day I resumed

by quoting the instances of Bishop Denison and Thirlwall to prove the difficulty of judging the future characters of men—he saw it. 'You cannot,' I said, 'enjoy peace of conscience, amidst all these difficulties, unless you make your appointments as in the sight of God, knowing that you will render an account for the use of your power.' He assented to this. I told him that I had not touched on the *spiritual* character of their doctrines; I had confined myself to those points which chiefly affected Government; it was, however, to be borne in mind that it was a soul-destroying heresy.' He asked me what I knew of Archdeacon Hare; I replied in terms of high eulogy of his learning, eloquence, and piety. 'Is he not unsteady?' he said. 'I consulted the Bishop of Durham, who knew nothing about him.' 'His unsteadiness,' I replied, 'if he have any, arises from his too deep study of German theology and German metaphysics; it breaks out in conversation, but will never influence his writing or preaching.' 'Do you know Pelham?' (he had, I perceived, seen my list). 'Not myself, but those in whom I have confidence speak most highly of him; he is a superior man in firmness and decision to his brother.' I then introduced the name of Archdeacon Shirley as a person fit for any station, adding, 'he is a Whig; and I say this because I cannot pretend to be ignorant that, after all, a Minister must listen to those who support him, and that, if *cæteris paribus* he have a fit man on his side of politics, he may, for the sake of peace, advance such a person.' 'Yes,' he replied, '*cæteris paribus.* A Minister is exposed to great annoyances if he overlook a man on his own side.' He proceeded: 'I dislike Tractarians and Tractarianism; but I, as much, dislike those parties who speak of the Roman Catholics in such violent terms, and who would degrade them to the condition of serfs, and who entertain sentiments bordering on persecution; men like Sir Culling Smith.' 'I have no sympathy,' I replied, 'with any such excesses; I do not approve of this unmeasured violence you speak of; but I see what is passing through your mind, and I will be candid with you. Now, in this case, as in all where I have spoken freely, it is not to obtain your secret opinions. I should be ashamed of such a low, prying curiosity; do not, therefore, make me any answer or any observation. It is reported that the great *desire* of your Government, it may not be actually their *policy*, is to endow the Romish priesthood in Ireland. Now, if you think to engage more than a fraction of the Evangelical body in such an

undertaking, you will make an awful miscalculation ; this is a point on which they are, I am sure, quite resolved ; if you threaten that, if the proposition be resisted, the Empire will be dismembered, they will reply, 'Let it be dismembered' ; if you say that desolation will extend over the realms of England, they will answer, 'Let it be desolated' ; there is no consequence they will not endure, very few degrees of resistance that they will not consider legitimate. The Dissenters will join them, partly on the ground of dislike to Popery, partly on the ground of dislike to establishments.' He seemed to admit this entirely. 'I have now,' I added, 'taken up much of your time ; I am much obliged to you for the opportunity ; I shall never again intrude on you in these matters, unless you send me an invitation ; and I shall then think it a duty to obey your summons. May I, however, be permitted to send you a list of names ? you will, of course, throw it behind the fire, or consult it, as you may see fit.' He assented ; we then parted. Same evening I saw Sir George Grey. Russell had told him of our interview ; 'I hate the Tractarians,' added Russell, 'because they persecute the Dissenters, and I hate the Evangelicals because they would oppress the Roman Catholics.' He assured me, however, that J. R. was exceedingly well disposed. The truth is, that Russell, like many others, regards Popery as a political system ; to be ruled politically ; to be resisted politically ; to be considered, with all its branches, only as it affects the political position of a Government. By this measure he will estimate both men and things. God be with us ! I have, thank God, done my duty ; I have 'testified' to this Prime Minister, as I did to the last ; the fruit from both may be about equal ; but I prefer Russell as a man to Sir R. Peel.

Nov. 14th.—Yesterday to Broadwall to meet Committee on Ragged School—established a class of industry for one evening in the week : tailoring and shoemaking for the boys, needlework for the girls—have undertaken to pay the expense ; am in hopes of making nearly sufficient by one article in the *Quarterly Review* on 'Ragged Schools.' . . .

Macaulay argues, and well, that the term 'superficial' is relative, and can seldom be applied accurately. That which is profound in one day becomes shallow in another ; the utmost depths of Roger Bacon would be paddling-pools for the school-boys of our day. This is not the objection to be raised against education altogether, or even

the education of the present era. My objection is that all are taught alike, whatever their stations, hopes, views, and necessities—there is little practical, little of use for future application, and boys are ill-educated, not because their knowledge is acquired by rote and lies mainly on the surface, but because they are lifted above their political and social station, filled with personal conceits, and inflated with notions that they are fit to reform the world, and then govern it.

Dec. 31st.—Crœsus would be pauperised if he were to meet half the demands that are made upon me every month! Alas, I must refuse the largest proportion, and give very sparingly to the remainder. I say 'alas,' because the cases are oftentimes meritorious, and I shall always be misrepresented, and frequently misunderstood. Many people choose to believe that I am rich, and ask accordingly; yet more than half of my income is borrowed, to be repaid at some future day, with heavy accumulations of interest; eight children, the two eldest costing me more than £200 a year each; a ninth coming, and an allowance from my father of only £100 annually more than I had as a Bachelor at Oxford! Are these sources of wealth? . . .

CHAPTER XV.

1847—1850. THE TEN HOURS BILL.

In Lancashire—Mr. Fielden's Ten Hours Bill—Debate thereon in the Lords—Lord Brougham—The Bishop of Oxford—The Bill Carried—Rejoicings—Letter to the Short Time Committees—A Check to the Rejoicings—The System of "Relays" and "Shifts"—A Test Case—The Bill in Jeopardy—Mr. Baron Parkes' Adverse Decision in the Test Case—An Appeal to the House—The Work of Agitation Renewed—Sir George Grey's Proposal—Acceded to by Lord Ashley—A Split in the Camp—The Government Bill becomes Law—The Principle Established by the Ten Hours Bill—Recantation of Mr. Roebuck and Sir James Graham—Letter from Mr. Roebuck—Mr. Gladstone on Factory Legislation—Tributes—Summary of whole Subject.

The great struggle for the Ten Hours Bill was drawing near its end, and, by the irony of fate, the victory was to be achieved while Lord Ashley was out of Parliament. The winter of 1846–7 had seen him in Lancashire, attending meetings in every large town, and adopting all possible means to support the efforts which Mr. Fielden was to resume in Parliament in the ensuing Session. Everywhere Lord Ashley met with an enthusiastic reception. He reminded his hearers that his opponents used to taunt him about the Corn Laws, and argue that there lay the obstacle which prevented the passing of his Ten Hours Bill. "With respect to myself," he said, at a public meeting at Manchester, "I know the arguments I used to encounter while the Corn Law was yet in force—how often it was said,

'You are the cause of the long-time vexation; it is you who are to blame, because, for your own exclusive interest, you keep up the price of bread, and prevent us from entering into competition with foreign manufacturers.' I recollect perfectly well one of your present members saying, 'If I vote for the noble lord on the Ten Hours Bill, will he follow me into the lobby for a division on a motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws?'" He went on to say that, now he had voted for repeal, he asked for concession in return.

The object of Lord Ashley on all occasions, was to encourage and stimulate the friends of the movement to rally round Mr. Fielden with the same enthusiasm with which they had rallied round him. Many, out of friendship for himself, had said, "We may as well relax our efforts, and wait until Lord Ashley is again in Parliament," not realising that he was anxious, not for his own honour, but that the measure might be launched on the crest of the popular wave.

It must not be supposed that he alone was bearing the whole brunt of the battle. In various parts of the country Mr. Oastler and others were vigorously prosecuting similar labours, while a weekly periodical, *The Ten Hours Advocate*, published by Mr. Philip Grant, an able and zealous colleague, was, under the advice and guidance of Lord Ashley, doing good service to the cause.*

On the 26th of January, Mr. Fielden moved for leave to bring in the Ten Hours Bill; the motion was seconded by Mr. Ferrand, and leave was given. On the

* Alfred's "History of the Factory Movement," p. 248.

second reading (Feb. 10) the subject was discussed for several hours, Mr. Hume strenuously opposing the measure on grounds of political economy, and Mr. Roebuck, who never lost an opportunity of attack, assailing it on all sides.

There is a natural and mournful ring in the following words from the Diary :—

Feb. 10th.—Factory Bill is under discussion in the House of Commons. I lingered in the lobby ; had not spirit to enter the House ; should have been nervously excited to reply, and grieved by inability to do so.

March 1st.—Intense anxiety about Factory Bill. I dream of it by day and by night, and work as though I had charge of the Bill.

March 12th.—Lady De Grey observed to me, last night, that I was grown silent, and had lost all my spirits. It is quite true. I have, during the last two or three years, been growing more melancholy and even stupid. It is, perhaps, because I have little or no play ; and that makes Jack a dull boy.

March 17th.—Long labour yesterday in furnishing John Russell, at his request, with notes for a speech.

Notwithstanding all opposition, the second reading was eventually carried by a majority of 108, and on the 3rd of May the third reading, after an animated debate, was likewise carried by a majority of 63 !

When, ten days later (May 13), the Bill was introduced into the House of Lords, it was observed that the attendance of bishops was larger than had ever been known on any previous occasion.

The Earl of Ellesmere (formerly Lord Francis Egerton), in moving the second reading, said that having taken part in the discussions upon this subject in another place, he felt it not unbecoming to occupy

his present position. The measure, which had originated in the wishes of those who contributed by their toil to the manufacturing wealth of the country, had been wafted up to the Legislature by petitions signed by thousands of the operative classes, who were deeply interested in its success. It had received the sanction of those whose lives were devoted to one undeviating course of philanthropy—men of every party, and of every religious denomination. It had made its way to the Legislature, against the opposition of those who brought to bear on it the most powerful interest, and their still more powerful minds. It had, however, been sanctioned by a considerable portion of the Cabinet, and had been carried into their lordships' House by a conclusive majority of the other House of Parliament.

After Lord Faversham had seconded the motion, Lord Brougham, apologising for interrupting the unanimity which Lord Faversham had hoped would characterise their proceedings, at once addressed himself to "the large number of right reverend prelates whom he saw assembled opposite," and laid before them his views of the question in its relation to the morals of the people. He based his argument on the assumption that the Ten-Hours restriction would lower wages, and urged that the condition of the labouring population in a thickly-inhabited country, was always at the lowest possible condition with respect to wages, and anything that tended to make them worse, could not but be injurious and reprehensible, and he then proceeded to draw a

melancholy picture of a state of things never likely to be witnessed. The vote for the second reading was carried by a majority of forty-two.

On the 17th of May the bishops again mustered in full force. The debate was one of the most interesting ever listened to in the House of Lords, the most remarkable speech being that of the Bishop of Oxford, who set himself to the task of meeting the arguments used in opposition to the Bill, which were grounded in great measure upon a number of untrue assertions. It had been taken for granted, in the first place, that great risk would be run of driving British manufactures abroad; in the next place, that the factory labourers were unwilling to assent to the proposed law; and in the third place, that a measure was about to be forced upon the master manufacturers, which would deprive them of an adequate supply of labour to carry on their mills with profit. Having refuted these assertions, the Bishop addressed himself to Lord Brougham's argument, which he himself had urged upon the labourers, who had replied, "Why, this is the argument of my Lord Brougham; and there is nothing in it." Then, passing on to the discussion of the practical question at issue, he asked, "Could their lordships believe, that upon the last two hours' labour of trembling hands, tending upon that machinery, after long, unceasing, and heart-consuming attention, when Nature almost refused to perform her functions—could their lordships believe that upon those two last hours depended all the profits and accumulations of the manufacturers? He believed that the work

done in those two last hours was infinitely inferior in quality to that which was done in any other portion of the day; it was demanding work when nature refused the power of working!" Finally he showed how, for years, this cause had been slowly winning its way against the greatest of all human passions—the love of gain, and in a powerful peroration, maintained that the acquisition of wealth was based upon moral principles, that there could be no moral wrong which was politically expedient, or that could tend to the production of wealth; but that, if they neglected the people in order to make the nation rich, they would, in the end, make the nation poor, by debasing the people.

The Bill was read a second time without a division, nearly every member of the Bench of Bishops voting in its support, and on the 1st of June it passed its final stage.

May 18th.—Bill passed second reading in House of Lords by 53 to 11. How can we praise Thee, or thank Thee, O Lord? One step more, and all will be safe.

The Bishops behaved gallantly—13 remained to vote; three spoke, and most effectively: London, Oxford, St. David's; Clarendon(!) and Brougham (!!) in opposition. This will do very much to win the hearts of the manufacturing people to Bishops and Lords—it has already converted the hard mind of a Chartist Delegate.

June 1st.—Six o'clock. News that the Factory Bill has just passed the third reading. I am humbled that my heart is not bursting with thankfulness to Almighty God—that I can find breath and sense to express my joy. What reward shall we give unto the Lord for all the benefits He hath conferred upon us? God, in His mercy, prosper the work, and grant that these operatives may receive the cup of Salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord! Praised be the Lord, praised be the Lord, in Christ Jesus! . . .

This great victory was received throughout the country with intense enthusiasm. The rejoicings in the manufacturing districts were such as had never been seen before. Lord Ashley and Mr. Fielden were greeted with ovations wherever they went; many of the mill-owners welcomed the change, and arranged for festivities in honour of the occasion. Medals were struck in commemoration of the event, and the Queen was graciously pleased to receive, at the hands of Lord Ashley, one of these medals sent to her by the factory operatives.

The importance of the Act of 1847 becomes very apparent, when we remember that out of 544,876 persons employed (according to the returns of that year) in the textile industries, no less than 363,796 were young persons and women, whom the Act directly affected; the time of their labour being limited, from the 1st of July, when the Act came into force, to eleven hours a day or sixty-three hours weekly, and from May the 1st, 1848, to ten hours a day or fifty-eight hours weekly.

For forty years the subject had been before the world, and for fourteen years Lord Ashley had been working incessantly for the boon now granted. He had, at the first, demanded that the agitation should be carried on in the most conciliatory manner possible, and now that the great principle of the Ten Hours' limit had been affirmed by the Legislature, he urged that there should be no noisy or affronting exultation. Three days after the Bill had passed its final stage,

he addressed a letter to the Short-Time Committees as follows :—

My good Friends,—Although there is no longer any necessity to name you collectively and as united together for the purpose of obtaining a reduction of the hours of working in factories, I will address a few words to you, in your capacity of representatives of the whole operative body, on questions of the highest and dearest interest.

First, we must give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God for the unexpected and wonderful success that has attended our efforts. We have won the great object of all our labours—the Ten Hours Bill has become the law of the land ; and we may hope, nay, more, we believe that we shall find in its happy results, a full compensation for all our toils.

But, with your success have commenced new duties. You are now in possession of those two hours which you have so long and so ardently desired ; you must, therefore, turn them to the best account, to that account which was ever in the minds of your friends and advocates when they appealed to the Legislature on behalf of your rights as immortal beings, as citizens and Christians.

You will remember the principal motive that stimulated your own activity, and the energetic aid of your supporters in Parliament, was the use that might be made of this leisure for the moral improvement of the factory people, and especially the female workers ; who will now enjoy far better opportunities both of learning and practising those duties which must be known and discharged if we would have a comfortable, decent, and happy population.

You will experience no difficulty, throughout your several districts, in obtaining counsel or assistance on these subjects. The clergy, the various ministers, the medical men—all who have been so forward and earnest in your cause—will, I am sure, be really delighted to co-operate with your efforts.

I need not, I know, exhort you to an oblivion of past conflicts, and to hearty endeavour for future harmony. I trust that there will be no language of triumph, as though we had defeated an enemy. Let us be very thankful that the struggle is over, and that we can once more combine, not only the interests, but also the feelings, of employer and employed, in a mutual understanding for the comfort

and benefit of each other, and for the welfare of the whole community.

I cannot entertain a doubt that you will have anticipated me in this respect; it has been my endeavour from the beginning, to seek and to advise all methods of conciliation; and I can safely declare, that in the periods of the greatest ardour or disappointment, I never heard, either in meetings or from individuals, a single vindictive expression.

Although the final completion of this great measure has been achieved by another, I could not, after so many years of labour, take leave of it altogether without a few words to you of advice and congratulation. To no one could the lot have fallen so happily as to our friend Mr. Fielden. He joined me in 1833 in the introduction of the first Bill, and has been ever since, as you well know, your able, energetic, and unshrinking advocate.

In bidding you farewell, I do not retire from your service. I shall, at all times, hold myself in readiness to aid you in any measures that may conduce to the moral and physical welfare of yourselves and of your children; and I shall, indeed, most heartily pray that it may please God to prosper this consummation of our toils with every public and private blessing.

I remain, your very affectionate friend and servant,

ASHLEY.

It will be well in this place, perhaps, to glance at some of the subsequent features in the history of the Ten Hours movement.

At the time of the passing of the Act, a great commercial crisis caused many factories to stop working, or at least to work only half time. There was, therefore, at first, a reduction of wages, solely due, not to the Act, but to a concurrent stagnation of trade. When, however, in May, 1848, the Ten Hours Day came to be adopted, a revival of production had taken

place. The legal working day was reckoned to begin at 5.30 a.m. and to end at 8.30 p.m., and the manufacturers took advantage of this to work their young persons by a system of "relays" and—what was still worse—of "shifts" of hands, so as to keep the operatives employed, and the mills in action, the whole of this time. The masters who kept the time prescribed by the Act, were loud in their denunciations of the practice. There was a struggle between the manufacturers and the inspectors on this point; and the country justices, of the manufacturing class, assisted the mill-owners in thus evading the purposes of the Act. Great alarm was created among the operatives, and, in order to allay it, a test case was got up by the Lancashire Central Short-Time Committee, and tried, when the bench decided that the law was not explicit enough to enable them to convict, and an appeal was entered to carry the case before a superior court.

Throughout the year 1849, there was intense anxiety amongst the friends of the Ten Hours movement, who feared that the whole question would have to be re-opened in Parliament. The old Committees were re-established, tours of inspection were organised; all the machinery of agitation had to be called again into use, and it was found that the system of "relays" was spreading in all directions. The Masters' Association, on the other hand, was equally active, and petitions were drawn up against the Ten Hours Bill, and circulated freely.

A few extracts from the Diary will show Lord

Ashley's attitude towards the question during this anxious time:—

March 5th, 1849.—The Ten Hours law is in jeopardy: God gave it us in His mercy, and admirably has it worked, no reduction of wages, no flight of capital, no misuse of vacant hours, nay, the reverse of all this. Some of the masters, a small, thank God, though powerful minority, have discovered a means of evasion. The Government say that they cannot prevent it, and they will, therefore, partially legalise it! Here is fresh toil, fresh anxiety. Would to God it were settled for ever!

June 8th.—Old John Fielden is dead. . . . Poor old Fielden; he had many kind qualities, and was a true and energetic friend to the Ten Hours Bill: greatly, indeed, am I, and the operatives also, indebted to him, and we shall miss him very seriously now, when wealth and capital and avarice and power are again in arms against weakness and poverty. The mighty boon of the Ten Hours law is nullified by fraud and abused justice; and they seek now to annihilate it by open legislation!

Oct. 4th. . . . The Ten Hours agitation still alive. Mr. Oastler and Mr. Stephens have seized the opportunity to revile me and place themselves at the head of the operatives; but I rejoice to say that the operatives will neither believe them nor accept them. This matter must be speedily determined by an appeal to one of the Superior Courts: it is disgraceful that the Home Secretary has so long neglected this pressing necessity.

Nov. 1st.—Mr. Oastler and a crew of others (I can use no milder term), including Sam Fielden (why he?) are denouncing and reviling me in every society, by day and by night, in speech and on paper, as a traitor, and a thousand other things, to the Ten Hours Bill. God knows my sincerity, my labours, vexations, losses, injuries to health, fortune, comfort, position in that cause. It is true I told the workpeople that I would assent (if *they* would assent, but not without) to the concession of *half* an hour, provided they received in return the immediate and final settlement of the question, and the limitation of the range from *fifteen* to *twenty* hours, a concession the masters alone could make. Here is my offence, and I am too busy, and also too tired to begin a controversial defence. Like Hezekiah,

I 'spread it before the Lord.' . . . I wish I could be cheerful, but mirth hath perished.

It was not until the 8th of February, 1850, that the test case came on for hearing in the Court of Exchequer. The decision was awaited with feverish anxiety, as it seemed that the whole effect of the statute hinged upon it, and the adverse judgment of Mr. Baron Parke, in which it was decided that the system of "shifts" and "relays" was not contrary to the letter of the Act, was received with dismay.

Feb. 1st, 1850.—Judges will decide adversely on factory case submitted to them, and thus legalise relays! The Attorney-General said to me this afternoon, 'They will give judgment, not according to law, but on policy.' 'Judge Parke,' he added, 'observed to me, "I have no doubt that the framers of the Act intended that the labour should be continuous, but as it is a law to restrain the exercise of capital and property, it must be construed stringently." Might not this judge have said and thought, with equal justice and more feeling, 'This is a law to restrain oppression and cruelty, and alleviate an actual slavery under a nominal freedom. I will, therefore, construe it liberally!' . . .

Feb. 15th.—Adverse judgment in Court of Exchequer. Great remedial measure, the Ten Hours Act, nullified. The work to be done all over again; and I seventeen years older than when I began! But, as I did not commence, so neither shall I renew it, in my own strength. My sufficiency, if there be any, is of God.

It was now clear that the cruel system which had been declared legal, would spread rapidly throughout the manufacturing districts. But Lord Ashley was equal to the emergency, and, having in the interval taken his seat for Bath, he, four days after the decision had been given, introduced the question into the House of Commons, by calling the attention of the Government to the necessity

for "taking some steps to obviate the very evil consequences of that decision;" and on March 14, after a smart discussion, obtained leave to bring in a Bill. He insisted upon immediate action, as, in the then present state of things, with the mills going for fifteen hours and the actual labour of young persons restricted to ten, it resulted in their being turned out into the streets at different intervals during the day, which was not only an incentive to vice, but it made it impossible for Inspectors to ascertain how many hours the hands really worked. Even Mr. John Bright acknowledged the need for settling what was, he admitted in some degree, an unsatisfactory state of the law; but he took occasion to charge Lord Ashley with posing at one time as the "hired advocate" of those who were anxious to paint in the blackest colours the condition of the manufacturing districts, "and at another time as if he were engaged, in consequence of the passing of the Ten Hours Bill, to paint an entirely different people."

Throughout the Session, the Ten Hours question was constantly before the House, and every stage in its progress was guarded anxiously by Lord Ashley. Sir George Grey, on behalf of the Government, proposed a plan to which Lord Ashley had previously agreed—namely, in return for the strict limitation between six and six, to allow ten and a half hours labour per day, and not more than sixty hours per week. The real compensation in this was—and it was worth all the rest—that the time of labour was limited to a range of twelve hours with a *certain termination* at six o'clock. There

were many amendments to this proposal, and endless discussions in and out of Parliament. Lord John Manners moved that the factory day should be limited to half-past five in the afternoon. Mr. John Bright seconded a proposal to legalise the hateful system of "shifts and relays," and to fix the factory day from half-past five a.m. to half-past eight p.m ! Both of these motions were lost, as was also a motion by Lord Ashley, that children between eight and thirteen years of age should be included in the six to six clause. But, although this was lost then, it was afterwards effected by Lord Palmerston, when at the Home Office in 1853.

March 11th, 1850.—Saw Grey ; he proposes, in fact, an eleven hours' bill, and admitted that it was so, offering at the same time advantages in the reduction of the range from 15 to 12½ hours ; all mills to close at six o'clock. He would not interdict relays, and by permitting them, enable masters to work for eleven hours ; why this ? All has prospered under the ten hours, why thus propitiate Bright and Ashworth ? Evasions would be universal ; detection, impossible.

March 14th.—Grey fearful, vacillating, showing no principle—matters appear well ; if all goes on as it has begun we shall prosper. To-day is the day of trial.

March 15th.—The case was unanswerable, the House with me ; Grey weak, vacillating, quibbling on legal points, yet admitting the truth of the asserted improvements. Bright and Gibson angry, though subdued.

May 7th.—Harassed day after day by this Factory Bill—impossible to get a stringent clause to prohibit relays ; tried many and failed—have resolved then, as only hope of getting anything good and secure for the operatives, to accept Government Amendments. I am sure that they are the best terms that ever will be offered, and probably that this is the last time of their being offered. I fear, too, division among the operatives, for, if some reject, some will accept the terms ; once divided they are lost, the masters will effect an Eleven Hours Bill !

May 8th.—Harassed exceedingly by Factory affair—resolved to adopt clauses of Government, and wrote letter to *Times* announcing it. Expect from manufacturing districts a storm of violence and hatred. I might have taken a more popular and belauded course, but I should have ruined the question; one more easy to myself, but far from *true* to the people.

May 9th.—Two considerations have greatly determined me to take the resolute course of accepting the Government proposals. First, I felt most distrustful of the disposition of the House to support me in the full demand for the 'ten hours.' The majority, that, in 1847, gave victory to the old supporters of the Bill, were governed, not by love to the cause, but, by anger towards Peel and the Anti-Corn-Law League. Had not these passions interposed, there would have been no unusual 'humanity.' Our position in this respect, is now altered. Secondly, it is manifest that neither party (the employers, or the men) is striving for what is considered to be really essential. The two additional hours could give nothing of value to the amount of production; the two hours spread over the week, could take nothing of importance from the operatives, the rule being constant and rigid that the mills should be closed at six o'clock every day. They are struggling merely for victory; no side chooses to be beaten. This may be natural, but I could not consent to be the tool. Doubtless it is a blow to my reputation, because many will misunderstand, while many will misrepresent, my position and conduct.

After a long and wearisome course, the Bill was passed, and received the Royal assent on July 26, 1850. It reduced the legal working day for all young persons and women, to the time between six in the morning and six in the evening, with one and a half hours for meals. This permitted ten and a half hours work on five days in the week; on Saturdays no protected person was to work after two. Such was the main feature of the Act 13 & 14 Vic. cap. 54, which has, since 1850, regulated the normal day in English factories.

The principle established by the Ten Hours Bill has had an effect, the importance of which it is difficult to over-estimate, and, owing to the perseverance of Lord Shaftesbury, that principle has been extended, until to-day we have "a complete, minute, and voluminous code for the protection of labour; buildings must be kept pure of effluvia; dangerous machinery must be fenced; children and young persons must not clean it while in motion; their hours are not only limited but fixed; continuous employment must not exceed a given number of hours, varying with the trade, but prescribed by the law in given cases; a statutable number of holidays is imposed; the children must go to school, and the employer must every week have a certificate to that effect; if an accident happens, notice must be sent to the proper authorities; special provisions are made for bake-houses, for lace-making, for collieries, and for a whole schedule of other special callings; for the due enforcement and vigilant supervision of this immense host of minute prescriptions there is an immense host of inspectors, certifying surgeons, and other authorities whose business it is 'to speed and post o'er land and ocean' in restless guardianship of every kind of labour, from that of the woman who plaits straw at her cottage door, to the miner who descends into the bowels of the earth, and the seaman who conveys the fruits and materials of universal industry to and fro between the remotest parts of the globe!" *

One of the most interesting circumstances in con-

* Morley's "Life of Cobden."

nection with the later labours of Lord Shaftesbury on behalf of factory operatives was, that his steady perseverance, in the long run, brought round to his side many of those who had most stoutly opposed him. In 1860, Mr. Roebuck, who had formerly been bitterly hostile, stood forth in Parliament and made his public recantation. The question before the House was the labour of children, young persons, and women employed in Bleach works. He said: "I am about to speak on this question under somewhat peculiar circumstances. Very early in my Parliamentary career Lord Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury, introduced a Bill of this description. . . . I opposed Lord Ashley at that time, and was very much influenced in my opposition by what the gentlemen of Lancashire said. They declared then that it was the last half hour of the work performed by their operatives which made all their profits, and that if we took away that last half hour we should ruin the manufacturers of England. I listened to that statement, and trembled for the manufacturers of England—but Lord Ashley persevered. Parliament passed the Bill which he brought in. From that time down to the present the factories of this country have been under State control, and I appeal to this House whether the manufacturers of England have suffered by this legislation?" (Loud cheers.)* The burden of his speech throughout, was, that in his former tooth-and-nail opposition, he had been wrong in almost every particular.

No sooner had Mr. Roebuck concluded than Sir

* *Times*, March 22, 1860.

James Graham came up to him, and, laying his hand on his shoulder, said, "I am glad that you have read your recantation, and I will read mine to-morrow." Roebuck's recantation was more fully announced in the following letter, written a few days after his speech in the House :—

Mr. Roebuck, M.P., to Lord Shaftesbury.

19, Ashley Place, S.W., *March* 24, 1860.

My dear Lord Shaftesbury,—I am much obliged by your kind expressions and by your flattering appreciation of my labours on behalf of the women and children working in Bleaching and Dye-works. The praise, however, if any be due, belongs to yourself, for the evidence supplied by the enactments which you promoted, made a convert of me, and led me, as far as I was able, to imitate your example and follow in your footsteps. That good will come of last Wednesday's division I feel certain. The success of the measure is now assured, and much misery, which has hitherto disgraced us, will now be prevented. The present state, however, of these poor women and children is a serious lesson to all legislators. It teaches us, in a way not to be mistaken, that we ought never to trust to the justice and humanity of masses of men, whose interests are furthered by injustice and cruelty. The slave-owner in America, the manufacturer in England, though they may be individually good men, will, nevertheless, as slave-owners and masters, be guilty of atrocities at which humanity shudders; and will, before the world, with unblushing faces, defend cruelties from which they would recoil with horror if their moral judgments were not perverted by their self-interest. It is happy for us that we have an impartial public around us, who, being unswayed by evil interests, can, without a sacrifice, give a just judgment.

Thanks again for your approval,

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

J. A. Roebuck.

True to his word, in a debate upon the same subject (the Bleaching and Dye-Works Bill), Sir James Graham rose and said: "I have a confession to make to the House. Experience has shown, to my satisfaction, that many of the predictions formerly made against the Factory Bill have not been verified by the result, as, on the whole, that great measure of relief for women and children has contributed to the well-being and comfort of the working classes, whilst it has not injured their masters. . . . By the vote I shall give to-night I will endeavour to make some amends for the course I pursued in earlier life in opposing the Factory Bill."*

In March, 1864, Mr. Gladstone, in a speech on interference by prohibition, referred to the Factory Acts, and said, "It is an interference, as to which it may be said that the Legislature is now almost unanimous with respect to the necessity which existed for undertaking it, and with respect to the beneficial effect it has produced both in mitigating human suffering, and in attaching important classes of the community to Parliament and the Government." In a note written by Lord Shaftesbury in the margin of Mr. Grant's "History of Factory Legislation" are these words: "He does not retract with the honesty of Roebuck and Graham."

In all quarters, testimony was borne to the beneficial effects produced by the intervention of the Legislature in the employment of women and children in

* *Times*, May 9, 1860.

factories. To quote such testimony would be an endless and unnecessary labour. One extract only, as a sample, shall be given here. At a meeting of the British Association in Manchester, in September, 1861, Professor Newmarch, in his opening address as President of the Economic Science Statistics Section, after referring to the progress of Factory Legislation, and the "wholly successful" issue of the limitation of hours, said: "It had consolidated society in this part of the island, swept away a great mass of festering and growing discontent, placed the prosperity of the district on a broad, solid, and safe basis; on the orderly, educated, contented labour of Lancashire, a security against foreign competition, a guarantee of power, and fund of undivided profits. These results had followed from the sagacious, persevering, and moral exertions, of the advocates of the Ten Hours Bill."

By far the most interesting summary and comment upon the great Factory struggle, is supplied by Lord Shaftesbury in some manuscript notes appended on fly-leaves to Mr. Philip Grant's "History of Factory Legislation." They were written towards the end of his life, and are as follows:—

My friend Grant has made some omissions, and especially in p. 145. He has left out the whole history of what follows on my acceptance of Grey's offer of a 'limitation of the hours between 6 and 6, with an hour and a half off for meals,' thus making the working day $10\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 10 hours.

It led to a violent disruption. Oastler, Walker, and the Fielden family denounced me as a *traitor*, and never ceased afterwards to hurt and slander me.

I assented on the ground that twenty years of well-balanced conflict showed that neither party could gain its full purpose; and that compromise was the only solution. And the gain to the people was far beyond the concession to the employers, who, for an additional half hour, surrendered their right to take the hours of labour over an interval of 15 hours with all the means of evasion, and agreed to close their works at 6 o'clock.

This was recognised, at the very first, by very many of the operatives, and, eventually, by all.

It, moreover, prevented a 'sore place' by giving neither party the absolute victory. And in nothing have I seen more reason to admire and trust the factory-workers, than in their readiness to conform to my advice (which I gave in abundant letters and speeches) that, while there was much joy, there should be no insolent exultation, no language of triumph, but expressions of gratitude, addresses of friendly sentiments, and desire for harmony and common action.

All this had the desired effect; for the masters, instead of a sulky opposition, were zealous to aid the operations of the measure, and hence, under God, its success.

From the first hour of my movement to the last, I had ever before me and never lost sight of it, the issue of a restoration of a good understanding between employer and employed.

He has also omitted to note the completion of the Act by bringing, in 1853 (this we owe to Palmerston), the children between 8 and 13 under the 6 to 6 Clause. To this time, though the adults and young persons were liberated after 12 hours' detention on the premises, the children of tender years were detained 15 hours, many of them, in Yorkshire, coming 3 miles to their work.

These new measures (the Extension Acts) were mentioned in the Queen's Speeches both at the opening and the closing of Parliament in 1867.

The next entry, on another fly-leaf, appears to have been written at a later date:—

Forster* suggested that, in the preface to my 'published volume' (!) I should set forth many of the obstacles that had beset my progress. This could not be done by myself; the narrative would savour of

* John Forster, author of "Life of Dickens," and many other works.

egoism. But for my children, if this book survive me, I may say that they were many and severe. I had to break every political connection, to encounter a most formidable array of capitalists, mill-owners, doctrinaires, and men, who, by natural impulse, hate all 'humanity-mongers.' They easily influence the ignorant, the timid, and the indifferent; and my strength lay at first ('tell it not in Gath!') among the Radicals, the Irishmen, and a few sincere Whigs and Conservatives. Peel was hostile, though, in his cunning, he concealed the full extent of his hostility until he took the reins of office, and then he opposed me, not with decision only but malevolence, threatening, he and Graham, to break up his administration and 'retire into private life' unless the House of Commons rescinded the vote it had given in favour of my Ten Hours Bill. The Tory country gentlemen reversed their votes; but, in 1847, indignant with Peel on the ground of Corn Law repeal, they returned to the cause of the factory children.

Fielden and Brotherton were the only 'practical' men, as the phrase then went, who supported me, and to 'practical' prophecies of overthrow of trade, of ruin to the operatives themselves, I could only oppose 'humanity' and general principles. The newspapers were, on the whole, friendly; some very much so. A few, especially the local journals, inconceivably bitter, though balanced by local papers sound and hearty in their support.

Out of Parliament, there was in society every form of 'good-natured' and compassionate contempt. In the provinces, the anger and irritation of the opponents were almost fearful; and men among first classes of workpeople, overlookers and others, were afraid to avow their sentiments. It required, during many years, repeated journeys to Lancashire and Yorkshire, no end of public meetings in the large towns; visits, committees, innumerable hours, intolerable expense. In very few instances did any mill-owner appear on the platform with me; in still fewer the ministers of any religious denomination. At first not one, except the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Brierley, near Bradford; and even to the last, very few, so cowed were they (or in themselves so indifferent) by the overwhelming influence of the cotton lords.

I had more aid from the medical than the divine profession; and ever must I record the services and skill of Mr. Fletcher of Bury.

The demands upon time and strength were quite up to my powers, and, indeed, much beyond them. I suffered a good deal.

The operatives, themselves, did their duty. Their delegates, whom they maintained at their own cost, were always active and trustworthy men; specially my friend and fellow-labourer, Philip Grant, who was, in my support, as two right hands.

Perhaps the various efforts made by Sir R. Peel to induce me to take office, were amongst the greatest of my difficulties. The attractions of office were not weighty; but Sir R. Peel wishing, not so much to have me as a member of his Government as to withdraw me from the Factory Bill, spared no entreaties, no 'flatteries,' no almost falsehoods, to entice me. He shifted his ground in every way, first one thing, then another. Among other things, the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, as 'a man who would have great influence over the clergy to induce them to accept reforms.'

In the *Times* of Saturday, April 11th, 1868, there is a review of the Life of Wilberforce! There are many things said in it of him that might be said of me, but they never will be. He started with a Committee and a Prime Minister to back him. I started to assail home interests, with every one, save a few unimposing persons, against me. O'Connell was a sneering and bitter opponent. Gladstone ever voted in resistance to my efforts; and Brougham played the doctrinaire in the House of Lords.

Bright was ever my most malignant opponent. Cobden, though bitterly hostile, was better than Bright. He abstained from opposition on the Collieries Bill, and gave positive support on the Calico Print-works Bill.

Gladstone is on a level with the rest; he gave no support to the Ten Hours Bill; he voted with Sir R. Peel to rescind the famous division in favour of it. He was the only member who endeavoured to delay the Bill which delivered women and children from mines and pits; and never did he say a word on behalf of the factory children, until, *when defending slavery in the West Indies*, he taunted Buxton with indifference to the slavery in England!

Lord Brougham was among my most heated opponents. He spoke strongly against the Bill in 1847.

Miss Martineau also gave her voice and strength in resistance to the measure.

By degrees some public men came round. Russell, then Lord

John, did me disservice while he was Minister; he espoused the cause when turned into Opposition. Then Sir G. Grey adhered; and, towards the end, Macaulay gave us one of his brilliant and effective speeches. My latter years in the House of Commons were dogged by Oastler and the Fieldens, who resented my policy in bringing all things to a happy conclusion by making and accepting concessions to abate too much exultation in the operatives, and too much soreness in the mill-owners.

The pressure upon purse and upon time was very great; the pressure upon strength was greater, but the pressure on the mind was greatest of all. I endured terrible anxieties.

(I have omitted above that the famous O'Connell was, for a long time, very bitter and hostile, and spoke of the 'good-natured nonsense' I delivered. He became, afterwards, much milder.)

What follows was written evidently after another long interval:—

On May 15th, 1869, a great celebration at Bradford to uncover Oastler's statue. The reception the operatives gave me was wonderful. There must have been one hundred thousand people present; many had come from distant towns in Yorkshire.

CHAPTER XVI.

1847.

Famine in Ireland—Day of Humiliation—National Education and Wesleyan Support—Letter from Lord John Russell—Election Speech at Bath—Incidents of the Election—Returned Head of the Poll—Ragged School Business—Broadwall Ragged School—Roger Miller, City Missionary—His Death—Article on Mrs. Elizabeth Fry—Quakers and Quakerism—Article on Lodging Houses—A Hapless Wanderer—A Round of Visits—Leader of the Conservative Party—Missionaries—Miss Strickland—Highland Scenery—A Presentation at Bradford—Party Spirit—Labours in Lunacy Cases—Baron Lionel Rothschild and Jewish Disabilities—At Windsor—Dr. Hampden—Faith.

THERE were many who did not hesitate to declare that the scare produced by the threatened failure of the potato crop in 1845, and the consequent famine, was neither more nor less than a political *coup*. It was, nevertheless, a terrible fact, and Ireland had been plunged into unprecedented distress. In the autumn of 1846 the disease reappeared with greater virulence than ever; and in 1847 Ireland was in a state of absolute famine. It is impossible to describe the terrible condition of that unhappy country; tens of thousands were threatened with actual starvation, and thousands more were suffering from disease consequent upon insufficient food. Then it was seen that the repeal of the Corn Laws was a stroke of the wisest policy; the ports had not been thrown open one day too soon, nor had the intimation to countries from whence grain could be

imported, been given an hour too early. The descriptions in the daily press were of the most harrowing kind, and the whole world was horrified by their shocking details, to which there is, happily, nothing similar on record in the annals of this country. The food of the people was gone; and although every effort was made to bring supplies into the country, these were altogether inadequate. Subscriptions were set on foot, work was improvised for the unemployed; but, notwithstanding this, the people died in hundreds daily from dysentery, famine, fever, and starvation. Never before had there been such universal sympathy with suffering—all the nations vied with one another in sending contributions towards the relief of the distress—and never before had any country in civilised lands and times been dependent for existence upon one poor article of food. Despite all the efforts that were made, "there was not a house where there was not one dead." It was ascertained by the census of 1851 that a million and a half of persons, of all ages, had disappeared—either starved to death, destroyed by pestilence, or fled the country.

In a great variety of ways the sympathies of Lord Ashley were called out towards the suffering people, to whom constant reference is made in the Diary throughout these years of famine.

February 21st, Sunday.—Sermon for relief of Irish; held one of the plates in Park Street. Largest collection ever known here, £192 14s. 11d. Sad to see how many well-dressed people pass by and give not a brass farthing. . . .

February 26th.—Wrote to Bishop of London to urge day of

humiliation. It is something to reverence God as a nation, though it be only externally.

March 24th.—The day appointed for fast and national humiliation. At ten o'clock, prayers being ended, some bread and cocoa. The savings in the house-books to go (it is the homage, not the sum) to some Irish fund. Were this done in every family, thousands of pounds might be collected. It has been a comfortable day to me; the service, the reading, the conversation, have all been consolatory and profitable. Seldom have I known my heart more touched, or my eyes more full. . . . O God, may this people stand before Thee in penitence, in prayer, confession, and forgiveness! May they yet be Thy instruments, for honour to Thee and welfare to the human race, Thy chosen soldiers of the Cross of Christ against sin and the devil!

In the early part of the year Lord Ashley was engaged in rendering important service to Lord John Russell, who was about to submit to Parliament a scheme for the education of the people, based upon the grant of £100,000 to be asked for during the Session. He proposed to exclude Roman Catholics from the benefit of the grant, and to take up their case in a separate form. The details of his plan were submitted to the House on the 19th April, when he expressed his belief that any proposal for making State education purely secular would be opposed to the opinion of Parliament.

April 1st.—Much engaged in endeavouring to bring the Wesleyan body to accept and support new scheme of education.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Ashley.

CHESHAM PLACE, *April* 7, 1847.

MY DEAR ASHLEY,—Your exertions to induce the Wesleyans to accept our Minutes will, I trust, be successful.

But at all events, I cannot refrain from expressing the obligations

which I feel to you for your very active and judicious endeavours to obtain the support of that most valuable body to our Minutes.

I remain, ever yours faithfully,

J. Russell.

April 15th.—All is well! The Wesleyans have accepted the Minutes. May God prosper the issue! Took chair in evening yesterday of great education meeting in Freemasons' Hall. Very enthusiastic, very successful; everything prospered.

April 17th.—I cannot dispossess my mind of a suspicion that John Russell meditates 'other' things in a new Parliament, yet that does not alter my desire and determination to aid him, heart and soul, in all that is right. He has written to thank me for my services in the negotiations with the Wesleyans. And truly they were very opportune. Their hostility would have been disastrous.

April 23rd.—A majority last night on the Education Minutes of 345, forty-seven only voting against it! I am truly thankful. May the measure be prospered to the advancement of true religion! Now, where would the Government have been had the Wesleyans joined the Dissenters? Their union would have damped the ardour of the Church, and all would have been in confusion.

Lord Ashley had accepted the invitation of an influential deputation that had waited upon him, urging him to stand for the representation of Bath, at the forthcoming General Election, and offering to pay all his expenses; and on the 25th May he addressed the electors. In his opening remarks he gave a graphic description of Parliamentary life. He said:—

I was almost willing to retire from public life, and all its distracting vocations; for, however tempting to the young and inexperienced—however full of promise of usefulness and of honour to those who have never tried it—the House of Commons does not present, to its more practised members, such an amount of unalloyed enjoyment as to render it, of all sublunary things, the most to be desired.

The immense consumption of time, the constant demand on the moral and physical energies, the enormous effort which is required to do the smallest good, and the misunderstanding and abuse which constantly attend that attempt—these circumstances, when seen and felt, greatly diminish the attraction of Parliamentary honours. Add to these the state of public parties, the uncertainty of the opinions of your own ordinary political friends, and the total impossibility of reposing entire confidence in any public man—consider all these things, and you have but little left to inspire any inordinate desire of senatorial privileges.

The subjects he principally brought forward, were those connected with the social condition of the labouring classes, indicating principles rather than precise measures, and holding himself free to decide the time and mode of asserting them; but, in all, he pledged himself to maintain the "great principles of the Constitution in Church and State—those great principles which, ever since the Revolution of 1688, have been recognised and cherished by the people of these realms—the Crown, the Bishops, the Houses of Lords and Commons, and every institution ecclesiastical and civil."

His opponent was Mr. Roebuck, then his bitterest antagonist in the Factory agitation. Mr. Roebuck had arrayed on his side capital, as well as considerable influence, the Jews alone subscribing £2,000 towards his expenses, and he made, moreover, the usual extravagant display which produced no inconsiderable impression upon a certain class of electors in those days. Lord Ashley, on the other hand, declined to allow banners, processions, or even ribands; determined that if he triumphed, it should be a triumph of principles.

July 24th.—Bath. Arrived yesterday—all seems quiet, and appearances are not bad. It would require a world of argument to make me vote for the repeal of the Septennial Bill; a more frequent repetition of the toils, expenses, excitement, and evil passions of a contested election, would be awfully injurious to all parties.

July 26th.—Mobbed on Saturday, and struck in the evening by a man, who was instantly seized, his blow having been broken—yet I shall continue to walk about. Violence is expected at the hustings; I trust that the police will do their duty. Attended several committees, very crowded, and very hot—all looks pretty well, but '*Dieu dispose.*' Mr. R. is determined, I hear, to wither me by sarcasms—doubtless he will have the opportunity to revile, and I shall have none to answer; but God judge between us!

July 28th.—The nomination has passed off quietly—people noisy, but good-humoured. An immense meeting; Mr. Roebuck, piano in comparison of what I expected, so much so that I could not produce the only part of my speech that I had prepared in answer to his invectives!

Perceived a change in the popular feeling towards end of my speech; cries of 'Ashley for ever!' ten times more frequent all this evening than before.

July 31st.—London. No time for entries till this morning—many events; returned, however, thank God, at the head of the poll!

*A. . . .	1278
D. . . .	1228
R. . . .	1093

August 2nd.—I am deeply sensible of the immense value of the mode in which I have been returned, and of the principles asserted in it. I can never sufficiently thank God for the whole event, and for the prospect it has opened to me of restoration to public usefulness. I have been excluded from Parliament for two Sessions, but the time has not been entirely lost; and I am now replaced in it in a way the most honourable, and the most pleasant on record in the history of elections. I did not ask a single vote; I appeared but

* Lord Ashley, Lord Duncan, Mr. Roebuck. The latter was left at the foot of the poll after a connection of fifteen years with the constituency.

once in Bath, and made a single speech before the week of the dissolution; I did not pay a single farthing; I had not an inch of ribbon, a banner, music, or a procession; not a penny during six months was expended on beer; nor had I one paid agent; the tradesmen conducted the whole, and with singular judgment and concord. This is indeed a model for elections, and heartily do I thank God that the precedent has been set in my instance. We had no mob, no bludgeon-man, and trusted entirely to the police and common sense . . .

Aug. 7th.—The unanimity of the London press, great and small, the blue-bottles and the gnats, against *me* and for *Roebuck*, is very remarkable. *Punch* of yesterday added his sting. Such perseverance cannot fail of some general effect on the public mind; for, as Mr. Hardwick, the architect, told us a few days ago, the repeated jars of a train, passing over an *iron* bridge, were equal, in the aggregate, to one mighty blow!

Aug. 9th.—Amused with the issue of Oxford election. Had been requested to stand; stated all my objections (of which I had many) in reply, but consented, if my friends regarded it as a matter of real principle. I see by the result that I should have come in. I was proposed at Oxford, and Dr. Ogilvie, who takes the lead in that place, would not allow the name of so low a churchman—one so connected with the Pastoral Aid Society—to be mentioned. To avoid any division, all agreed to seek out some one *against* whom nothing could be said; but then, as the price of that, they were obliged to adopt a person *for* whom they could say as little, so Dr. Ogilvie took Round, and subsequently finds out that he had rejected a 'low churchman' to espouse one who had played the 'dissenter;' and he loses the election into the bargain!

The interest excited in Ragged Schools and the London City Mission showed no sign of diminution. Many influential persons were eager to see the strange sights which Lord Ashley so graphically described by pen and speech. The newspaper press lent material aid in making the subject popular; and the mustard seed was beginning to spread itself into the largest of

trees. Frequent notes similar to the following occur in the Diary:—

March 27th.—To Pye Street at 11 o'clock to show Ragged School to Fox Maule and Mr. Guthrie. Lord, how we ought to bless Thee for this measure of success!

May 1st.—An article in the *Edinburgh Review* on 'Ragged Schools,' written, evidently, by one who knows nothing of them. No mention of our Ragged Union, no recognition of our labours and services. The spirit of it is good—no tendency to irreligion. Now, I discern the reason of their silence: I see a contemptuous allusion to factory legislators, and any praise of the Union would involve a praise of myself. Such things are in themselves of no value; the result is the sum and substance, wherewith we should be content; but to a public man, the praise of successful efforts, especially if he be a 'philanthropist,' is stock-in-trade for further enterprise; to withhold it where it is due, is not so much to injure the man as to retard humanity.

The Broadwall Ragged School in South London owed its existence to the indefatigable labours of Mr. Roger Miller, a City missionary, who had at first gathered about 130 of the most destitute and forsaken children he could find, and, in a tumbledown building, had laboured, week-days and Sundays, to lead them into better paths. Soon, the crowds of applicants were too numerous for the accommodation; and Lord Ashley happening to hear of this, sent for Mr. Miller, to see if something could not be done to assist him in his work.

Lord Ashley seemed to know instinctively the men he could trust, and with whom he could work; and once having taken kindly to a man he would trust him implicitly, and work with him ungrudgingly. It was so in this case; and Mr. Miller was soon entered upon

his list of friends. This was no meaningless distinction implying mere patronage. He sought out in men beauty of character and singleness of purpose, and it mattered not to him whether they belonged to the humbler walks of life or to the higher: he gave them his friendship in no ordinary sense of the term. He accepted the motto of the poet Young:—

"Judge before friendship, then confide till death."

Roger Miller was a man whom Lord Ashley highly esteemed. He was a frequent, and always a welcome, visitor, and his simple, earnest devotion to the poor, his practical piety, and his cheerful, hopeful faith, were often helpful to the spiritual life of Lord Ashley. The death of this faithful missionary, just at a time when his labours were more than ever needed, was a serious blow, which deeply affected Lord Ashley.

June 7th.—This morning overwhelmed with grief; but God give us faith and obedience. Miller killed in the Birmingham train on Saturday night. I had seen him in the morning, well and full of zeal. He was going to Manchester to bury his mother. How inscrutable are Thy ways, O Lord! Write this lesson on our hearts. Here was a man rich in good works, piety, truth, service to God and man, labouring by night and day for humanity and religion, and especially amongst the poorest of our race. He is suddenly cut off, his work unfinished, his wife and children left destitute! And this, too, when so many profligate, idle, mischievous, useless, survive. Let us rejoice that we know the issues of life and death to be, not only in the *power*, but in the care, of our Father which is in Heaven! He is gone, I believe, to his rest; and now, O God, give us the will and the means to aid his widow, who is a widow indeed, and the children, who are orphans! But where shall I find another such for the charge of our Ragged School? Where another so full of love, piety, earnest-

ness, discretion, and labour? Lord, Thou knowest. Blessed Saviour of mankind, remember Thine own words—'Feed my lambs.'

June 9th.—A far greater man might have gone out of the world with much less effect. All was grief on Monday at Broadwall; children and adults wept alike, and blessed the memory of poor Miller. I have known men of a hundred thousand a year depart this life, and every eye around dry as the pavement. Here goes a City missionary at thirty shillings a week, and hundreds are in an agony of sorrow. I have lost an intimate friend. We took, I may say, 'sweet counsel together.' A gap has been made in my life and occupations which will not easily be filled up.

Lord Ashley had in early life often wished to devote himself to science. At this period in his career he seemed about to devote himself to literature. Two articles from his pen appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for 1847. The first was on Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, whose biography it reviews. We append the following extracts:—

That this admirable woman had a special vocation for the office she undertook is manifest in every step of her progress; her intellectual constitution was singularly adapted to the peculiar task; add to this the zeal which governed the whole, an enthusiasm regulated, but never chilled, by judgment, and we have a character armed at all points, ready to take up the gauntlet of every conceivable obstacle that could impede her in the accomplishment of her great design. Among subordinate, but very real advantages, we cannot fail to count the succour she derived from her connection with the Society of Friends. A little eccentricity of action was considered permissible, and even natural, in the member of a body already recognised as eccentric in opinions, eccentric in dress, eccentric in language. Philanthropy, too, had been the distinguishing characteristic of this respectable brotherhood; a devious effort for the interest of mankind passed in one of them without censure, almost without observation. The Quaker habit and Quaker renown disarmed hostility, nay, propitiated favour; it secured the first introduction to

magistrates, to nobles, to ministers, to Emperors. When so much was effected, the rest was sure ; her simple dignity of demeanour, her singularly musical voice, her easy, unaffected language, the fit vehicle of her unfailing good sense, her earnest piety, and unmistakable disinterestedness, enchained the most reluctant ; and to every Cabinet and Court of Europe, where religion or humanity could be maintained or advanced, she obtained ready admission as a herald of peace and charity.

But, we must repeat, we take her as the exception, not as the rule. The high and holy duties assigned to women by the decrees of Providence are essentially of a secret and retiring nature ; it is in the privacy of the closet that the soft, yet sterling, wisdom of the Christian mother stamps those impressions on the youthful heart, which, though often defaced, are seldom wholly obliterated. Whatever tends to withdraw her from these sacred offices, or even abate their full force and efficacy, is high treason against the hopes of a nation. We do not deny that valuable services may be safely, and, indeed, are safely, rendered by many intelligent and pious ladies who devote their hours of leisure or recreation to the Rarotongas and Tahitis of British Christendom — it is not to such that we would make allusion ; our thoughts are directed to that total absorption which, plunging women into the vortex of eccentric and self-imposed obligations, merges the private in the public duty, confounds that which is principal with that which is secondary, and withdraws them from labours which they alone can accomplish, to those in which, at least, they may be equalled by others.

* * * * * *

We are amused, we confess, by her struggles with Quakerism, and her ultimate surrender to a pedantic system, by which her inner being could never be ruled. Though a member of a sect, she, in truth, was no sectarian ; but, underneath the ostentatious singularity of the mob-cap and light grey mantle, bore a humble heart—and a heart that could give honour to whom honour was due, whether he wore an ermine robe, sleeves of lawn, or the foulest rags. We are at a loss for her reasons ; the 'concern'—such is the term—is not alleged in her journal to have offered splendid advantages unattainable elsewhere. She may have yielded to the persuasions of her many relatives, to the suggestions of

convenience; but, whatever the motive, she embraces, with true self-devotion, the whole; adopts, without reserve, the Friend's ceremonial law; and finds various philosophical arguments to fortify the usage of 'thou' and 'thee' (pp. 56, 61). 'I considered,' she observes, 'there were certainly some advantages attending it; the first, that of weaning the heart from this world, by acting in some little things differently from it.' 'Vain service all, and false philosophy!' Our deep respect for many Quakers will not beguile us into a fulsome conceit of the elevating and purgative powers of Quakerism. They are men of like passions with ourselves; they may be seen in Mark Lane and on the Exchange, and pursue their wealth and enjoy it with similar zeal and relish. Nor are they fully weaned from the rougher and more stimulating diet of political ambition. With the vow of separation upon them, they have recently shaved their heads, and entered the world of Parliamentary service; how far they, or the public, have gained by this invasion of the Nazarites is beyond our experience. One of them, however, must have imbibed the humanising influence of 'thou' and 'thee;' since the friend who knew him best, not long ago declared, that 'if John Bright had not been born a Quaker he would most assuredly have become a prize fighter!'

In some particulars the work of Elizabeth Fry was closely allied to that of Lord Ashley, and he reveals the secret of its success in these words:—

> She saw clearly and experienced the power of love on the human heart, whether corrupted, as in the criminal, or stupefied, as in the lunatic. She saw that the benighted and wandering madman possessed and cherished the remnants of his better mind, and that he clung to nothing so much as to that which all seemed to deny him—some little semblance of respect. Sympathy is the great secret to govern the human race; and, whether it be in a prison, a ragged school, a madhouse, or the world at large, he that would force men's hearts to a surrender, must do so by manifesting that they would be safe if committed to his keeping.

The second article was on "Lodging Houses," and was written to assist the efforts being made by the

Labourers' Friend Society, in the same way in which the article on Ragged Schools had assisted the Ragged School Union.

Thoroughly conversant with his subject Lord Ashley set forth graphically the abominations of the then existing lodging-house "system," and the efforts made to supersede it. His description of a hapless wanderer arriving in London, homeless, friendless, and seeking a shelter, is here subjoined :—

> The astonishment and perplexities of a young person on his arrival here, full of good intentions to live honestly, would be almost ludicrous, were they not the preludes to such mournful results. He alights, and is instantly directed for the best accommodation to Duck Lane, St. Giles's, Saffron Hill, Spitalfields, or Whitechapel. He reaches the indicated region through tight avenues of glittering fish and rotten vegetables, with doorways or alleys gaping on either side—which, if they be not choked with squalid garments or sickly children, lead the eye through an interminable vista of filth and distress—and begins his search for the 'good entertainment.' The pavement, where there is any, rugged and broken, is bespattered with dirt of every hue, ancient enough to rank with the fossils, but offensive as the most recent deposits. The houses, small, low, and mournful, present no one part, in windows, door-posts, or brickwork, that seems fitted to stand for another week; rags and bundles stuff up the panes, and defend the passages, blackened with use and by the damps arising from the undrained and ill-ventilated recesses. Yet each one affects to smile with promise, and invites the country bumpkin to the comfort and repose of 'Lodgings for Single Men.'
>
> He enters the first, perhaps the largest, and finds it to consist of seven apartments of very moderate dimensions. Here are stowed—besides children—sixty adults, a goodly company of males and females, of every profession of fraud and violence, with a very few poor and industrious labourers. He turns to another hostel—the reader will not, we know, proceed without misgivings—but we assure him our picture is drawn from real life. The *parlour* measures

eighteen feet by ten. Beds are arranged on each side of it, composed of straw, rags, and shavings, all in order, but not decently, according to the apostolic precept. Here he sees twenty-seven male and female adults, and thirty-one children, with several dogs (for dogs, the friends of man, do not forsake him in his most abandoned condition), in all fifty-eight human beings, in a contracted den, from which light and air are systematically excluded. He seeks the upper room, as more likely to remind him of his native hills; it measures twelve feet by ten, and contains six beds, which in their turn contain thirty-two individuals—and these bearing but little resemblance to Alexander the Great, Cujas the Lawyer, or Lord Herbert of Cherbury, whose bodies yielded naturally a fine perfume. Disgusted once more, he turns with hope to the tranquillity of a smaller tenement. Here, groping his way up an ascent more like a flue than a staircase, he finds a nest of four tiny compartments—and they are all full. It is, however, in vain to search further. The evening has set in; the tenants are returned to their layers; the dirt, confusion, and obscenity baffle alike tongue, pen, and paint-brush: but if our bewildered novice would have for the night a roof over his head, he must share the floor with as many men, women, and babies as it has space for.

After further descriptions of the state of things the article continues:—

Our readers will now have some notion of the 'system' which it has been the aim of the Labourers' Friend Society to attack. It being asked once 'What is the best method of protecting against depredation a barrel of small beer?' the answer was 'Place alongside of it a barrel of strong.' On this principle the Society determined to act; and we shall now sketch the triumph of their superior barrel.

The experiment was successful, and paved the way for attempting greater things, not only by the Labourers' Friend Society, but upon their model, and not in London only but in many of the large provincial towns and cities.

In August Lord Ashley set off on a round of visits,

to take a little relaxation before the labours of the new Parliament should commence.

Aug. 12th.—Broadlands. Went over yesterday to St. Giles's. Minny, and the four boys; no one there; place solitary as the plains of Tartary, but, thank God, it looked well and *uninjured*. A few years ago I could have adopted a rural life; I could not, I think, now! My habits are formed on metropolitan activity, and I must ever be groping where there is the most mischief. . . .

Aug. 23rd.—William Cowper writes to Minny, 'I hear Ashley sometimes spoken of as the only man who is calculated to lead the majority of the Conservative party, and certainly if he were an ambitious man he might assume a leadership with many followers next Session, particularly on subjects relating to the Church, &c., &c.' Well, this is a new view of my futurity; what sport for the newspapers. If they shot at me while I was merely a cocksparrow, what would they do when I had become a Popinjay! no, no, no; I have opinions and feelings, strong and deep; they may be right or wrong; but, right or wrong, they can never lead a party, because no party would follow them.

Aug. 30th.—Ryde. Reading 'Missionary Enterprises' by Williams. It may well make us all blush—blush by contrast with the missionaries, blush by contrast with the natives of the South Sea Islands. Zeal, devotion, joy, simplicity of heart, faith and love; and we, here, have barely affection enough to thank God that such deeds have been done. Talk of 'doing good' and 'being useful in one's generation,' why, these admirable men performed more in one month than I or many others shall perform in a whole life! O God, bless our land to Thy service, and make every ship an ark of Noah to bear the Church of Christ and the tidings of salvation, over all the waters of the ocean.

Sept. 17th.—Galloway House. There cannot be a lovelier or more enjoyable spot. The air is so elastic and bracing that it saves one from Sybaritish affections; one feels up to doing something. God give me a stock of health to be used in His service.

Dear old Duchess of Beaufort here; talked much with her on the Second Advent; we both agree and delight in the belief of the personal reign of our blessed Lord on earth. I cannot understand the Scrip-

tures in any other way; it is, however, a doctrine much abhorred by certain people, and greatly ridiculed and persecuted in those who profess it; the adversaries argue and revile as fiercely as though they attacked or maintained the fundamentals of the Christian religion, whereas the reception of this text, however comfortable, is no matter of faith.

Sept. 25.—Wishaw, Lord Belhaven's. Arrived here yesterday, hospitably received; found Miss Strickland, authoress of 'Lives of Queens of England'; put up my bristles in fear, and prepared for an onslaught of blue-stocking Tractarianism; agreeably disappointed; a good-natured, kind-hearted woman. She spoke gloriously of my public exploits, hence I suppose my becalmed spirit. . . .

Sept. 30th.—Achnacarry. Visit to Lord Malmesbury. Found here Ossulston, the Castlereaghs, and a Mr. Giles, a skilful limner. Rose this morning at 6. The purple hills were tipped with the rising sun, and all around is heathery mountain. It is like living at the bottom of a teacup with lovely edges.

Oct. 2nd.—Impossible to describe the fascinations of these Highland regions; the hills must be seen, and the air must be breathed; one's old limbs become elastic, and we 'leap exulting like the bounding roe;' it is a joy which fills the heart with thankfulness.

The colours and tints of every kind and hue, in most abundant variety, enliven the valleys and mountains with a brilliant glory. It looks as if some mighty giant, intending to do a landscape, had used a whole district for his palette, and spread it over with all the colours that singly or combined can exist in Nature. And as for the whole effect, language is altogether impotent; one's vocabulary will supply no adequate terms, and must be content to admire in silence or by short and emphatic ejaculations. . . .

Oct. 9th.—Rossie Priory. Been here since Wednesday; it is a fine possession, people hospitable and kind; found here Sheriff Watson—very glad indeed to meet him—a tutelar saint of Ragged Schools; also Sir David Brewster, a dear old man, combining beautifully science and religion. . . . I have been in good spirits since my arrival in Scotland, and have laughed a great deal, perhaps too much.

Oct. 13th.—Freeland (Lord Ruthven's). The heat and mugginess of these beautiful, but close, valleys, almost kill me, by contrast with the elastic, life-giving breezes of the Highlands.

Oct. 20th.—Bolling Hall, near Bradford, in Yorkshire. Yesterday evening the Short Time Commissioner of the West Riding presented to Minny a full-length portrait of me, painted by Bird, and an excellent likeness, as a memorial of gratitude for my services. Nothing could have been more acceptable in every sense.*

Oct. 27th.—Rowton. The Government in their distress have consulted Peel. He and Sir C. Wood were closeted together for four hours, from eight till twelve o'clock at night on this monetary crisis; all quite right and yet rather mean. This is the man whom they rejected from office a twelvemonth ago, as wholly unfit for the place; and now they call him to council. Party spirit is the ruling principle of public men, says all experience; Peel is an exception, so far only as that his party is himself. . . .

On his return to London, Lord Ashley found abundant labours awaiting him. One matter in particular claimed his attention, and it was characteristic of him that he would carry an urgent case to its final issue, however pressing other claims might be. A lady, Mrs. H., had been shut up as a lunatic, but, as far as Lord Ashley, and three other Commissioners, could judge, she was as sane as any woman in England; and he was pained and alarmed to find how, with all the safeguards of the law, there were still facilities for incarcerating a victim. He spared no pains in sifting the evidence on both sides, and prosecuted the investigation day by day until he had proof indisputable that the lady was the victim of a cruel conspiracy, and was perfectly sane. It need not be added that she was set at liberty with the least possible delay.

The patience and skill and unwearying labour of Lord Ashley as a Commissioner in Lunacy can never

* It now hangs at St. Giles's House.

be told. One story out of many, illustrating the characteristic promptness with which, even late in life, he would examine a case and take immediate action, may be cited here.

A lady, Mrs. A., residing in the West End, was on visiting terms with Mrs. B., a woman of fashion and position. There was very little in common between the two, and the visits of Mrs. A. would have been less frequent than they were, had she not taken a more than passing interest in a young lady, Miss C., who was staying, indefinitely as it seemed, in the house of Mrs. B. There was a great charm in her conversation, and the visits of Mrs. A. seemed to afford her considerable pleasure, although they were only of an occasional and somewhat formal kind. One day when Mrs. A. called, Miss C. was not there, and on making very pointed inquiries, she was, after some hesitation, informed that her young friend was out of her mind, and was in an asylum fifty miles away from town, the name of the asylum being mentioned.

That evening Mrs. A. felt troubled and distressed; she had seen Miss C. only a week or ten days previously, and perceived no indication of a disordered mind. It was true she had observed indications of sadness and depression of spirits, and had feared that her young friend was not happy; but that she was out of her mind, and fit to be in an asylum, she could not and would not believe. She was greatly troubled, not knowing what to do or where to go. At length it occurred to her that the Earl of Shaftesbury

was a Commissioner in Lunacy, and she went straight away to his house, found him at home, and told him the whole story. It was evening when she arrived in Grosvenor Square, and dinner was on the table, but within a quarter of an hour, Lord Shaftesbury was on his way to the railway station to go down to the asylum and investigate the matter for himself. He did so, and on the following day the young lady was released, it having been authoritatively ascertained that she was not in a state to render it necessary for her to be an inmate of an asylum.

The new Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, on the 23rd November, and her speech was, for the first time, transmitted to the chief towns in the kingdom by the electric telegraph.

At the preceding General Election Baron Lionel Rothschild was returned for the City of London—the first Jew ever returned to the House of Commons; and in order that he might be allowed to take his seat, the question of the removal of Jewish Disabilities was revived. The subject had been frequently under discussion since Mr. Robert Grant, in 1830, first brought forward a Bill to enable Jews to sit in Parliament. At that time a Jew was liable to every kind of humiliation: he could not vote unless he took the prescribed oath; he could not be an attorney, or practise at the bar, or be employed in a school, and, in many other respects, was "conspicuous in a free community as a man under a social and political ban." In the course of years,

however, various concessions had been made, until all the privileges of citizenship were accorded to him, except the most coveted honour of all—the right to sit in Parliament.

Lord John Russell moved a resolution to enable Baron Rothschild to take his seat, and, although it was strongly opposed by the Conservatives, the resolution—"for the admission of Jews into Parliament"—was carried by a majority of 253 to 186. The Bill was eventually thrown out, however, in the Lords.

Lord Ashley took part in the debate, and his speech told with considerable effect. His objection was not to admitting them as Jews, but that the Oath of Allegiance should be altered to suit them. "What I said in effect was this," said Lord Shaftesbury, when telling the story of these times to the writer: "You call on us to alter the oath by striking out the words 'on the faith of a Christian,' and ask the Legislature to affirm that this is unnecessary. I will not be a party to playing with the name of Christ, by striking it out of an oath, to please any one. If you like to have no oath at all, well and good, but I will have nothing to do with its alteration, which is a practical denial of the faith."

The closing events of the year are thus recorded:—

Nov. 15th.—Dined with John Russell on Saturday last. I had some thought of avoiding any 'private' civilities; but I determined otherwise—he made a friendly advance and quasi-apology; let us forget all in the common necessity. . . .

Nov. 19th.—Windsor Castle. Came here on Wednesday evening. Queen kind and hospitable: may God shield her and her's from every mischief, and above all, incline her heart to thoughts of service and

of love. My visits here mark the lapse of time and the progress of things; as such they have a tinge of melancholy in 'looking after those things that are coming upon the earth.' Sir G. Grey here also; he is 'a good man and a just.' . . .

Nov. 25th.—Last night attended tea-meeting of Lambeth Ragged School: 370 children, orderly, decent, happy; here is a result of an effort I made in July, 1846, and founded the school in conjunction with Mr. Doulton the pottery master, and his sons.

Dec. 3rd.—No man in the present day can henceforward hope to have the confidence of the country if he be not a master in the Israel of money. But with such an accomplishment he might command it, though he were Satan himself. . . .

Dec. 13th.—A singular correspondence in the paper to-day. The Bishops (twelve in number, Winchester and Ely surprise me) remonstrate with Lord J. Russell for his appointment of Dr. Hampden! Their letter is weak, almost foolish, his reply is clever and just. My opinion is quoted as having been given to Russell in support of the appointment. He did not previously consult me on it. He asked me subsequently what I thought. I replied, 'I should not, had I been Prime Minister, have made the appointment myself; but now that it is made, I venture to say that more good than evil will, I think, come out of it. His appointment as Regius Professor was infamous, because his writings at that time were Neological, of the school of Strauss; but during the last four or five years he has written and published very beautiful and orthodox discourses.' . . .

Dec. 15th.—To-morrow Jew Bill in House of Commons. I must speak; may God give me a mouth and wisdom; if I fail I shall be discouraged for any future effort: my spirit is far from elastic, I was always easily depressed, I am more so now. . . .

Dec. 17th.—Who ever trusted in God, and was disappointed? Spoke last night, and obtained (I am full of wonder) astonishing success. How curious! I was so frightened and dejected that I had almost determined not to rise. A minute more of my predecessor's speech would have consigned me to silence! Now, O God! grant that whatever of reputation I may have acquired be thrown at Thy feet for Thy blessed service! Grant that, unlike Herod, I may give Thee the glory! . . .

Dec. 20th.—Now, is this result traceable, in His free mercy to past faith? I resigned my seat in Parliament, and all my public

hopes and public career, that I might not give 'occasion to the enemies of God to blaspheme,' and I surrendered everything to His keeping. Mark the issue; my Ten Hours Bill is carried in my absence. I am returned to Parliament in a singularly and unusually honourable way, and within three weeks I begin to occupy a higher position than at any antecedent period: surely it is a completion of the promise, 'Them that honour me, I will honour.' . . .

CHAPTER XVII.

1848.

A Coming Storm—Revolution in France—Flight of Louis Philippe—A Revolutionary Epidemic—State of England—Louis Philippe lands in Sussex—Panic among English Residents in France—Efforts for their Relief—Metternich Deposed—"Revolutions go off like Pop-guns!"—The Chartist Demonstration—Ends in a Fiasco—The Prince Consort—A Conversation at Osborne—Letter from the Prince Consort—Letter from Lord John Russell—The Prince Visits Homes of the Poor—Presides at Labourers' Friend Society—May Meetings—Philanthropy a Mania—State of Sanitary Science—Chairmanship of Board of Health—Ragged Schools and Emigration—Condition of the Poor—Emigration Scheme Expounded—Farewell Address to Emigrants—"Lord Ashley's Boys"—A Curious Letter—Anecdotes of Thieves—A Strange Experience—A Thieves' Conference—Lord Hardinge—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—In Scotland again—Special Providences—With the Queen Dowager—With the Queen at Harrow—Death of Lord Melbourne.

The year 1848 was ushered in amid distrust, perplexity, and doubt. Everywhere there was foreboding of some unseen and undefined misfortunes. Men's souls were stirred by strange presentiments.

It was not long before the first rumblings were heard which presaged the approaching storm.

"Events are coming to the surface," wrote Lord Ashley, early in the year. "We see the stir on the waves, and we shall soon see the mass thrown up by the volcanoes. Italy is in open revolution; Austria is crumbling to pieces; France internally is threatened by reform conflicts; England is harassed by falling revenue, want of employment, republican principles, and Church

dissensions; America is rushing to debt, foreign conquest, and dissolution of States."

The great event which was to become the signal for the pent-up fires to break forth all over Europe was not a surprise to some, although unexpected by the majority—a third revolution in France, the proclamation of a Republic, the expulsion of the Orleans dynasty, and the election of a Provisional Government and a National Assembly.

It is not necessary to trace here, however briefly, the causes which led to the Revolution. The spark which caused the explosion was an arbitrary attempt to stop a proposed Reform banquet.

Lord Ashley took an intense interest in watching the progress of events; and his Diary gives a complete epitome of the revolutionary epidemic, which spread over nearly all the courts and capitals of the Continent. If we quote from it only sparingly, it is because we wish to confine our extracts more particularly to those passages which show the current of his own life.

Feb. 25th.—Are we not in times of wonder, distress, and danger? To-day the grass is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven. On Tuesday the King of the French was in all the plenitude of his power, with an army of a hundred thousand men in Paris alone; and on Thursday he is an outcast from his dominions, expelled with indignity from his capital, his palace plundered, and himself cast down to a private station. Revolution and anarchy are in the ascendant; the whole royal family is exiled, a Republic proclaimed, and France, apparently, on the eve of a democracy, a consulate, and an empire! 'Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth!' None of this surprises me, except the electrical suddenness of the event. The King has, for seventeen years, been

combating the principles that placed him on the throne, resisting the national feelings that were evoked and cherished to prepare the Revolution of 1830, and fighting the whirlwind that he himself sowed as a storm. How could he, and his Minister Guizot, suppose that a nation of thirty-two millions would rest content with an electoral system based on 240,000 voters, one-half of whom were Government placemen? One thing alone surprises me: that they should have fallen into the same error as Charles X., and have been deceived in their estimate of the fidelity of the soldiers! This is really a judicial blindness, that with such an example to guide them, they should have fallen into the same pit!

Feb. 26th.—A Republic is proclaimed, and anarchy reigns in Paris. Revolutions, which in former days required years, are now perfected in days; a week is an age for these extraordinary events. 'So great power in one hour is come to nought;' all his schemes about dynasties, his astute and false diplomacy for the Spanish marriage, his rigorous and absolute laws for the foundation of despotism, his terrible army schooled in Africa, his vast fortifications of the capital, his mighty authority among crowned heads as the ruler of thirty-two millions of a military nation, all blown away like a soap bubble! 'Afflavit Deus.' . . . We are not safe here; a falling revenue in the face of a necessarily, I fear, increasing expenditure, and a determination to admit no new taxes. Trade, too, is fearfully stagnant, and distress prevails universally. In this state of things comes a French Revolution! Now what sufficient ground is there for all this rebellion? The sagacious Cobden said, a week ago, in taunting contrast with the English system: 'The French are most happy, they have no privileged orders, no large properties, no established Church; they have obtained all that they want, another Revolution is impossible!'

With the flight of Louis Philippe from France, the spirit of Revolution was let loose in Europe. Every country suffered more or less, but those countries which suffered least were England and Belgium. In England, however, disaffection had, in a limited degree, been for some time growing, and the events in France brought it

to a head. The Chartists, led by mad Feargus O'Connor, who had been returned for Nottingham at the General Election of 1847, immediately commenced an agitation for "their rights." Their programme included "Down with the Ministry," "Dissolve the Parliament," "The People's Charter," and "No Surrender;" and preparations were made to hold a monster demonstration in April to demand these points.

The state of England was to some extent alarming. In the manufacturing districts distress, almost unprecedented, prevailed, and a revolutionary spirit was abroad; nevertheless, the people remained tranquil—thanks, in no small measure, to the boon of the Ten Hours Bill—and in Manchester alone, some thousands of the operatives enrolled themselves as special constables. In London there was a spirit of turbulence and lawlessness, excited partly by Mr. Ernest Jones, and others like-minded, who urged the people not to fear "the vile men of the law, the police, the troops, or the shop-keeping 'specials.'" In Ireland the *United Irishman* was urging its readers "to sell all that they had to buy a gun." In Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Liverpool, there was rioting and loss of life among the starving and the unemployed.

Everywhere these symptoms caused a sense of uneasiness; no one knew what surprise and alarm the next hour might not bring forth. Meanwhile, events in France were hurrying on.

March 2nd.—If the King, instead of signing his abdication, had thrown himself among the troops which remained firm, he might

have prolonged the monarchy of the barricades. But he has been 'demented' for a long time past; his obstinate maintenance of all the corruptions of France, both in public men and public things, because he chose to govern by them; his eager pursuit of wealth and place for his own children, the history of the Condé property, the appanages, the Montpensier marriage, regarded simultaneously with his apparent indifference to the social welfare of France, led the whole nation to believe that he was Harpagon engrafted on Louis XIV. Like the present Bishop of Exeter, he over-reached himself by his over-cleverness, and has now found that all the sagacity and experience of the most tried of men are not necessarily 'counsel, wisdom, and understanding.' . . But we are in a social revolution; the first was against aristocracies and established Churches, the second against a particular dynasty, the third against that which alone remains, the possession and rights of property! The work-people have thrust their special representatives, Blanc and Albert, into the highest offices, and have propounded their own code of laws for the regulation of labour. . . . In England we have yet Conservative feeling enough to resist a storm. Our peril will arise from a calm. A storm of violence we should shrink from or withstand; the calm of Republican success would inevitably breed a spirit of imitation.

March 4th.—Louis Philippe is actually in England. He landed at Newhaven, in Sussex, from an English steamer, on one of the points selected, by his son Prince Joinville and others, as the fittest for a descent upon the British territory! He was kindly and hospitably received. God be praised, adversity covers a multitude of sins.

March 8th.—The activity of the Provisional Government in proclamations is astounding. It takes away one's breath. They decree everything; they have deified the people, declared their sovereignty, and now proceed to act with the assurance of divine power. Poor victims! they have no hope of existence but by promises and flattery; nor will these be able to give them one moment's security, unless the balances in the treasury sustain the flimsy situation.

(Noise and disturbance yesterday and to-day in Trafalgar Square; windows, lamps, and heads broken; a mass of housebreakers and pickpockets, swollen by idlers. In these days, however, everything must be noted. More serious riots at Glasgow; many shops of great value plundered.)

March 10th.—Breakfasted with Mahon, to meet Macaulay and Carlyle; pleasant, but strange.

Provisional Government have fixed wages of cab-drivers at three francs and a half a day; and the Minister of Instruction has issued a circular to announce to the electors that 'education' and 'fortune' 'are not required for a deputy.' An unlettered peasant 'would be better for an agricultural district.' Go it, my hearty!

'France for the French.' All English workmen have been expelled, and with circumstances of great oppression and dishonour. They were driven out by the bayonet; not allowed to bring away even their property, nor to receive their arrears of wages. Yet, without their aid, not a railway could have been constructed in France, and, I believe, hardly a factory carried on.

A general panic among the English residents in Paris ensued. They fled in various directions, and abandoned the city. Those only were left behind who had no means of flight—artisans and domestics, dependent for employment upon the better classes of their countrymen. Nor was the situation of the English artisans in the provinces any safer. There were many thousands scattered over France; in the factories of Normandy alone, there were no less than 2,500 English workmen employed. There, and elsewhere, riots were of frequent occurrence, all masters who gave employment to British artisans being marked out for attack. At Boulogne, from one single factory, English workmen, numbering, with their wives and families, 700 souls, were dismissed in compliance with the demands of the rioters.

Turned out of their homes, denied employment or public relief, with rents half a year in advance imposed upon them, involving them in losses; met at the savings bank, where their earnings had been deposited,

with the answer of "No funds," their case was desperate. They crowded the French outports, and clamoured to be sent back to their own country.

With Lord Ashley originated the scheme for their relief. An influential committee was called together, over which he presided; funds were collected, agencies were set to work, and Lord Palmerston and the authorities at the Foreign Office gave effect to their aims in various instances in which it might have been difficult for the committee to have realised them.

Among the results of their efforts, upwards of 6,000 refugees were brought over, cared for on their arrival, and passed on to their respective destinations, while special provision was made for the children of the British Orphan School in connection with the Marbœuf Episcopal chapel in Paris, which had been broken up during the general panic in that city.

In referring to these and kindred efforts, and also to a speech made by Lord Ashley, on the 16th of March, on better "Medical Relief to the Sick Poor," the *Times* said, "Political Economists and men of the world vote Lord Ashley a bore, but there is none of them who would not rather have twenty speeches from him on matters of Humanity, than one circular from Ledru Rollin;" while the *Morning Chronicle*, treating him with contemptuous kindness, said, "No thinking man concurs with Lord Ashley; but it is a very good thing, in these days, to have a nobleman who brings forward the distresses and needs of the people, and gives them assurances that their case will be considered."

It was in allusion to these remarks that the following entry in the Diary was made :—

March 21st.—Amidst all this contempt and desertion, I may rejoice and heartily thank God, that the operatives of Lancashire and Yorkshire, suffering as they are, remain perfectly tranquil. Such, under God, is the fruit of many years of sympathy and generous legislation. In Manchester several thousands enrolled themselves as special constables.

While uneasiness was increasing at home, "men's hearts were failing them for fear" on the Continent.

March 23rd.—Insurrection at Berlin! Insurrection at Vienna! The Prince Metternich deposed! It is astounding at first to see how these great monarchies fall! They seem as though they had no roots, nor ever had any. The truth is, that for years their foundations have been undermined; they were as rotten a quarter of a century ago; but either the gale of wind was not strong enough, or it failed to hit them on the weak side, and at the right moment. The first Revolution in France shook the whole system; but war and terror diverted men's minds. Peace brought reflection, comparison, anticipation. The second Revolution gave a blow on the other side, and completely snapped the roots and loosened the earth; the third brought down the Cedar of Lebanon in a single gust! Such is power, and such are human calculations. Terror, moral, physical, and financial, is at its height—every tremendous passion is about to be unchained. France seems surrendered by God to 'a reprobate mind,' the Devil reigns for a while. I pass my time in ejaculations; all is so wonderful, my thoughts are unconnected, and expression proportionately incoherent. The King of Prussia has had a conflict; he is apparently conqueror, he is actually conquered. Mobs are everywhere triumphant, with more or less of moderation in their demands at present; the ultimate issue is certain. And *we* yet stand upright, a column in the midst of ruins. Glory be to Thee, O Lord. . . .

March 25th.—Revolutions go off like pop-guns! Lombardy is

in full revolt; it will doubtless be severed from the Austrian Empire. . . .

March 30th.—Would to God that people, as men, and as patriots, would lay these things seriously to heart, and see that they are such lessons as never yet were given for the warning of a generation. Lessons indeed! What fall can be compared with that of Metternich? That of Sejanus is the nearest to it; but the difference is striking: Sejanus lived at a time, and under a system, when such reverses were common; every one who took power, took it in the fear, and even expectation, of death and confiscation. . . . We have yet a tumult in store, English Chartists and Irish Repealers are to have their day. 'Count no man happy before he be dead,' count no event small until it shall have passed.

Happily, the event so much dreaded—the great Chartist demonstration—collapsed in a most ignominious manner. But the alarm had been serious, and the precautions unprecedented. The military defence of the metropolis was under the care of the Duke of Wellington; troops were ready everywhere; a quarter of a million citizens were enrolled as special constables; Downing Street was barricaded. But on the day before the "Demonstration" the Chartist leaders quarrelled amongst themselves; on the morning of the day these dissensions were renewed; the police informed the rioters that they would not be allowed to cross the Thames, and the whole affair ended in a ridiculous fiasco.

April 10th.—The threatened day has arrived. How will it end? Referring to all the circumstances, I think it will close peaceably, but who knows? We are in the hands of God. He has told us, and would that one and all recognised from our hearts, 'Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.'

April 12th.—It ended, how shall we sufficiently praise God,

according to our minutest prayers. All was peaceable. The meeting at no time exceeded thirteen thousand. No more actual disturbance than on ordinary days. The procession was abandoned, and the petition came down in a hack cab. Surely the glory must be to Him 'who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the madness of the people.'

April 13th.—Nevertheless, I remain of the same mind. All things are tending to a change. We are entering on a new political dispensation; and many of us probably will outlive the integrity of our aristocratical institutions. Men are talking, they know not why, and they do not reflect *how*, of *this* slight concession and *that*; of an 'enlargement of the franchise,' and other vagaries. No one, except the Chartists, has asked for it, and they will rest satisfied with nothing short of the whole. The middle classes are content, and so are nineteen-twentieths of the working people; but this will be of no avail against indistinct terrors, ignorant uneasiness, and speculative, not social policy. A Sanitary Bill would, in five years, confer more blessing and obliterate more Chartism than universal suffrage in half a century; but the world, when ill at ease, flies always to politics, and omits the statistics of the chimney-corner, where all a man's comfort or discomfort lies. . . .

In the "Life of the Prince Consort," Sir Theodore Martin, after describing the turbulent state of the country and the anxiety with which it was regarded by the Queen and Prince, proceeds to say: "An opportunity arose during this month (May) for the Prince to take the position before the world which he afterwards occupied with so much honour, as the advocate of measures for improving the condition of the labouring classes. Four years previously he had testified his interest in the subject—one that always lay nearest to his heart—by becoming the President of the Society which had been established with this special object.* The

* The Labourers' Friend Society.

Society, in the meanwhile, had been making its way steadily, but slowly, for public attention had yet to be awakened to the importance of the subject; and it was considered by Lord Ashley, and others of its active promoters, that the appearance of the Prince in the chair at a public meeting to advocate its interests at this time might be attended with excellent results. The Prince, ever ready to show his sympathy and interest for that class of our community which has most of the toil, and least of the enjoyments of this world,* at once fell in with their views." †

It is somewhat singular that Sir Theodore Martin, who elsewhere has described so fully the circumstances leading up to any important event in the life of the Prince Consort, should, in this instance, have omitted all mention of them, and passed over in silence not only the action of Lord Ashley in the matter, but also some interesting details as regards the action of the Prince. These omissions we are fortunately able to supply.

Under the date of the 19th April, Lord Ashley entered in his Diary :—

April 19th.—Osborne, Isle of Wight. The Queen has sent for me to talk over the condition of the working people; and here I am. I was obliged to put off Golden Lane Ragged School (W. Cowper took the chair for me). Her Majesty very amiable and very considerate for the poor. God be praised, who has put such thoughts into her heart! May they bring forth fruit to His glory on earth, and her own peace in time and eternity! . . .

* His own words in his speech at the meeting of the society, 18th May, 1848.

† "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 46.

From a memorandum found among the papers of Lord Shaftesbury, and from conversations with him upon the subject, noted down at the time, the following particulars are obtained:—

"The Queen sent for me to Osborne; the *Fairy* was ready for me at Gosport, and I went. The Queen was greatly alarmed, and so was the Prince, by the Revolution in France and the exile of Louis Philippe. They feared the continuance of commotions in England, and were desirous to know how they could exercise their influence to soothe the people. The Queen, on my arrival, expressed this sentiment very warmly, and added at dinner, 'The Prince will talk to you to-morrow. We have sent for you to have your opinion on what we should do in view of the state of affairs to show our interest in the working classes, and you are the only man who can advise us in the matter.'

"On the following morning, during a long walk in the gardens, lasting for over an hour and a half, I discussed with the Prince the condition of affairs and the state of the nation. He asked me my advice, and how he could best assist towards the common weal.

"'Now, sir,' I said to him, 'I have to ask your Royal Highness whether I am to speak out freely, or to observe Court form?"

"'For God's sake,' he answered, 'speak out freely.'

"'Then, sir, I would say that at this juncture you hold a position in which you can render to the country far greater assistance than if you were its king. You can speak as a king, represent a king, without the neces-

sary and inevitable restrictions of a king. Your presence, though formally different, is virtually the presence of the Queen. My earnest advice to you is, that you should put yourself at the head of all social movements in art and science, and especially of those movements as they bear upon the poor, and thus show the interest felt by Royalty in the happiness of the kingdom.'

"'What can I do?' the Prince asked, eagerly.

"'On the 18th of May next, the anniversary of the Labourers' Friend Society will be held, and if your Royal Highness will accompany me, first to see some of the dwellings of the poor, and afterwards to preside at the meeting, I am satisfied it will have a good effect. You should come in three carriages, and have the footmen in red liveries—even these things are not without their influence.'

"The Prince at once fell in with the suggestion, and arrangements for carrying it out were discussed. But when Lord John Russell heard it he was frantic, and brought to bear every possible opposition, as he often did with regard to other schemes which he did not originate himself."

It was with no little regret that Lord Ashley received the following letter from the Prince:—

H.R.H. the Prince Consort to Lord Ashley.

OSBORNE, *April 23rd*, 1848.

MY DEAR LORD ASHLEY,—Lord John Russell did not like the idea of my presiding at Exeter Hall on account of the risk of a disturbance. I begged him to consider the question a little longer, and to consult Sir George Grey before committing himself against it. I

have received this morning the enclosed, which, I am afraid, is decisive against the plan. Though I must admit that there is strong reason against it, I sincerely regret it, as it will be difficult to find another becoming opportunity for expressing the SINCERE *interest* which the Queen and myself feel for the welfare and comfort of the working classes. You may have opportunities for conveying our sentiments. At any rate, *our Society* ought to be more prominently brought before them, and they ought to be invited to make suggestions for the amelioration of their own condition, to have these gone into by those who understand the matter, and to give, in this way, the means to the higher classes to assist them in their work.

Ever yours truly,

ALBERT.

The enclosure referred to in the above letter was as follows :—

Lord John Russell to H.R.H. the Prince Consort.

CHESHAM PLACE, *April 22nd*, 1848.

SIR,—On considering further Lord Ashley's proposal to your Royal Highness, it seems to me that the risk is greater than the probable advantage. Any Chartist might attend and attempt to speak ; such an attempt would be resisted by the meeting, and much confusion might ensue. The triumphant reception of your Royal Highness would not compensate for any disturbance of the meeting. Sir George Grey, to whom I have spoken, concurs entirely in this opinion. The Repealers in Dublin have become more violent since my declaration, but the well-affected are confirmed in their loyalty. In England the Chartists seem to be declining in numbers and mischief.

I have the honour to be

Your Royal Highness's

Faithful and obedient servant,

J. RUSSELL.

Soon after this Lord Ashley had another interview with the Prince—at Buckingham Palace—and urged

him to persevere in his intention. "This is a matter," he said, "in which your Royal Highness is perfectly free to act as you may please, and my advice is that you tell Lord John Russell that you are as good a judge as he is."

On the 29th April the Prince wrote to Lord John Russell:—

The book which you sent me certainly shows great disposition on the part of some mischievous folks to attack the Royal family; but this rather furnishes me with one reason more for attending the meeting, and showing to those who are thus to be misguided, that the Royal family are not merely living upon the earnings of the people (as these publications try to represent), without caring for the poor labourers, but that they are anxious about their welfare, and ready to co-operate in any scheme for the amelioration of their condition. We may possess these feelings, and yet the mass of the people may be ignorant of it, because they have never heard it expressed to them, or seen any tangible proof of it.*

Eventually the advice of Lord Ashley prevailed, the opposition of Lord John Russell was over-ruled, and the Prince wrote:—

From H.R.H. the Prince Consort to Lord Ashley.

B.P., $\frac{3}{5}$, 1848.

MY DEAR LORD ASHLEY,—I am glad that all difficulties are removed with respect to the meeting. Thursday, the 18th, at twelve o'clock, will suit me perfectly. I must see you soon upon the subject; perhaps you could call here to-morrow at four o'clock.

Ever

Yours truly,

ALBERT.

* Quoted in "Life of Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 47.

On the appointed day the Prince arrived with a brilliant cortège, and, accompanied by Lord Ashley, went to George Street, St. Giles's, and other streets in that neighbourhood, entered house after house to examine the actual state of affairs, and was received everywhere with the utmost enthusiasm.* Later on the Prince took the chair at the public meeting, and, as Sir Theodore Martin says truly, "made it the occasion for the speech which first fairly showed to the country what he was."

Lord Ashley refers to it in his Diary thus :—

May 19th.—Yesterday, a glorious meeting of the Lab. Friend Soc. Prince Albert in the Chair—Non nobis Domine, non nobis Domine ! but, God give us grace to bless Thee ; no drawback at all, it is new life to our efforts. . . .

May 20th.—Hear little but satisfaction at the success of the meeting, 'So wise, so opportune, so very happy,' all this because it succeeded. What would have been the indignation and contempt against me had it failed ! But God was my helper ; I may now, on this stock of reputation for good judgment, obtain influence to do good in other things. 'Put into my heart good desires, and enable me to bring the same to good effect.' Prince Albert did his part admirably, with remarkable grace and modesty. His speech, too, was excellent in itself ; and it was his own. The success has been hitherto complete ; almost every paper bepraises the step, and writes upon it in an anti-revolutionary tone. Aye, truly, this is the way to stifle Chartism. . . . Rank, leisure, station are gifts of God, for which men must give an account. Here is a full proof, a glowing instance ! The aristocracy, after a long separation, are re-approaching the people ; and the people the aristocracy.

It was, however, a long time before any very sensible effects were to be felt generally from these efforts. In

* "If the Prince goes on like this," said a Socialist to the Rev. Mr. Branch, a zealous evangelist to the working classes, "why, he'll upset our apple-cart!"

proportion, however, as the mischief became apparent, the labours of Lord Ashley increased, and we find in his Diaries many entries with regard to the state of the people and their needs. Thus :—

May 25th.—What will be the event in Ireland? Everybody they say is armed to the teeth against the Saxon. The Saxon meanwhile is giving from Saxon funds nearly four hundred thousand meals every day to his Celtic assailant. But a moral poison pervades the whole European atmosphere, and we here in England are beginning to be affected. It is painful to listen to the desperate weariness with which many declare that 'Repeal' would be better than the present state of things. . .

The meetings of the religious societies this year were admirable beyond precedent.

May 12th.—The speeches have been altogether of a deep and feeling character, well suited to the times in which we live. The effect of this month of May, with all its attendant ceremonies, is indescribably beneficial; it is a species of salt, and preserves, by the purification of the atmosphere, even those who do not come in contact with it. Very few of the wealthy or the noble appear on the platforms, or take any interest in them. May God prosper the work! . .

Yet it was thought by many that philanthropy was becoming a mania. It was constantly receiving a large share of notice. At one of the May meetings Lord Ashley called attention to a special phase of the subject, and the view he took is as true to-day as it was then. He said :—

It is the fashion to bepraise the liberality of the people of England in all matters of religion and charity. I confess that I think that savours much more of adulation than of truth; the fact is, that if you look at the sums that are expended in these high purposes, they are contemptible beyond expression, if they be measured by the revenue

of the country. And those who are the loudest in praising general liberality are themselves the least inclined to aid its progress. The fact is, that everything in the way of religion and charity that is done in this country, is done by a small knot of chosen persons, whose names you will find repeated in the catalogue of every charity that spreads its benign influence to relieve the wants of the country. The contributors to religious purposes are found to be the same in all associations; and if you take fifteen societies, I will undertake to say the names of the same persons will be found in ten of them. The great mass of the public stand aloof, and contribute nothing towards the general exertions; and it is most distressing to see that when there is any purpose of profit or of interest, the money is dealt out in rapid thousands; but when it is a question of religion and charity, you have to collect your funds by tardy units.

Although there was no fear of philanthropy becoming a mania, it was quite certain that practical efforts for the general good, were considered and received, far more willingly than they had ever been before. In two such efforts Lord Ashley took a leading part in the summer of this year, namely, the passing of the Public Health Act, and the ventilation of the question of Emigration for the ragged population of London.

In the early half of the present century sanitary science may be said to have had no existence. Until the visitation of cholera in London in 1831, no one seemed to think that evil lurked in overflowing cesspools and contaminated water, beyond the fact that the odour of the one and the taste of the other were unpleasant. When, however, a terrible plague threatened the land, the causes were investigated, and to the inroad of cholera we owe the first real impetus given to sanitary research.

Progress, however, was very slow. When the

calamity abated, people returned to their old ways, and allowed the interest, which had been awakened in a time of fear, to die out. But not so men of science, who patiently investigated facts and traced out hidden sources of malaria; and not so philanthropists, who continued to preach the good doctrine that cleanliness is next to godliness.

In 1839 the first Report of the Registrar-General and the fourth Report of the Poor Law Commission were published, and they made such a startling revelation of the state of the public health, and of mortality, that general attention was again directed to the subject of sanitation. Interest was sustained by a further Report of the Poor Law Board in 1842, and culminated in the first Report of the Health of Towns Commission in 1844.

From that time forth the necessity of sanitary reform was never lost sight of, although practical steps were taken slowly. A series of "Nuisances Removal Acts" was passed in Parliament; the first Act by which summary jurisdiction was given to justices of the peace to remove nuisances, proved to be injurious to health, coming into operation in 1846.

By far the most important Bill introduced into Parliament on Sanitary Reform was the comprehensive measure known as the Public Health Act, presently to be referred to.

Lord Ashley spoke on the subject in the adjourned debate (8th May), claiming that this was essentially a working man's question, as it affected every phase of his life—his home, his capacity to eat and drink in comfort,

and his ability to gain a livelihood and rear a family in decency and respectability. He argued that the same condition of things, and habits of life, which give rise to fever, also powerfully stimulated the action of immorality and violence, and that the connection of misery with filth, and crime with both, was inevitable. He was satisfied that no genuine or lasting good could result from education, so long as Parliament left the people in their present physical and domiciliary condition. He warmly supported the Bill, which became law during this Session.

The Public Health Act of 1848 created a Central Board of Health, and, as chairman of this Board, it was Lord Ashley's duty, in conjunction with Dr. Southwood Smith and Mr. Edwin Chadwick, to initiate a series of reforms, and to undertake labours almost unprecedented, especially in connection with the visitation of cholera, which, in 1849, swept from London, in the course of a few weeks, no fewer than 4,000 souls.

On the 26th September the following entry occurs in the Diary :—

September 26th. . . . I have accepted, at the urgent request of Morpeth, and through him of John Russell, the office (unpaid) of Third Commissioner under the Health of Towns Act. It will involve trouble, anxiety, reproach, abuse, unpopularity. I shall become a target for private assault and the public press ; but how could I refuse? First, the urgency of the request on the part of the Government ; second, the immense and unparalleled value I always attached, in public and private movement, to the sanitary question, as second only to the religious, and, in some respects, inseparable from it ; third, the public and private professions and declarations I had made ; fourth, the mode, extent, and principles on which I had

pressed the Government, at all times, as a real and solemn duty, to undertake the measure, promising invariably the utmost aid in my power; fifth, the Government accede to my request, and in the face of great unpopularity, rebuke, toil, and vexation, introduce a measure; sixth, they carry it, and then turn to me and say, 'Remember all that you have done, spoken, promised, and give us aid we now require;' seventh, can I forget their services on the Ten Hours Bill?; eighth, I have many things to ask of them yet; with what face can I do it, if I refuse them when they make a reasonable request to me?' May God give me strength! . . .

The second great practical question, in which Lord Ashley took part this year, was that of Emigration.

On the 6th June he brought forward in the House of Commons a motion, "That it is expedient that means be annually provided for the voluntary emigration to some one of her Majesty's colonies of a certain number of young persons of both sexes, who have been educated in the schools ordinarily called 'Ragged Schools' in and about the metropolis." The speech was a masterpiece of effective oratory, and although bristling with facts and figures and details, it was so well relieved by vivid and picturesque descriptions and telling anecdotes, that it created a profound impression. At the outset, he announced that he was not introducing a controversial question, or assailing any interest, and did not, therefore, anticipate any opposition, except from those who believed they could suggest a better plan; and that it was less from any overweening confidence that he had hit the true method, than from a desire to excite discussion and stimulate general effort, that he had propounded the matter for debate. He first gave the clue to the sources of his information:—

Till very recently the few children that came under our notice in the streets and places of public traffic were considered to be chance vagrants, beggars, or pilferers, who, by a little exercise of magisterial authority, might be either extinguished or reformed. It has only of late been discovered that they constitute a numerous class, having habits, pursuits, feelings, customs, and interests of their own; living as a class, though shifting as individuals, in the same resorts; perpetuating and multiplying their filthy numbers. For the knowledge of these details we are mainly indebted to the London City Mission. It is owing to their deep, anxious, and constant research; it is owing to the zeal with which their agents have fathomed the recesses of human misery, and penetrated into places repulsive to every sense, moral and physical; it is owing to such exertions, aided by the piety self-denial, and devotion of Sunday-school teachers, that we have advanced thus far. Certain excellent persons, who gave their energies to Sabbath training, were the first to observe these miserable outcasts, and hoping, by the influence of the Gospel, to effect some amendment, opened schools in destitute places, to which the children were invited, not coerced.

He stated that the numbers of this particular class—estimated at great trouble and on the best authority—exceeded 30,000—naked, filthy, roaming, lawless and deserted children, quite distinct from the ordinary poor.

He then described to the House the habits and dispositions of this wild race, their pursuits, modes of livelihood, the character of their dwelling-places, and the natural history, as it were, of the species. He explained how 1,600 of these street Arabs had been placed under examination, and of these

162 confessed that they had been in prison not once nor twice—many of them several times; 116 had run away from their homes, the result, in many instances, of ill-treatment; 170 slept in lodging-houses—nests of every abomination that the mind of man can conceive; 253 confessed that they lived altogether by begging; 216 had

neither shoes nor stockings; 280 had no caps, hats, bonnets, or head covering; 101 had no linen; 219 never slept in beds—many had no recollection of having ever tasted that luxury; 68 were the children of convicts; 125 had step-mothers, to whom may be traced much of the misery that drives the children of the poor to the commission of crime; 306 had lost either one or both parents, a large proportion having lost both.

Of the habits of these unfortunate children he gave some graphic details:—

Many of them retire for the night, if they retire at all, to all manner of places—under dry arches of bridges and viaducts, under porticoes, sheds, and carts; to outhouses; in sawpits; on staircases; in the open air, and some in lodging-houses. Curious, indeed, is their mode of life. I recollect the case of a boy who, during the inclement season of last winter, passed the greater part of his nights in the iron roller of Regent's Park. He climbed every evening over the railings, and crept to his shelter, where he lay in comparative comfort. Human sympathy, however, prevails even in the poorest condition; he invited a companion less fortunate than himself, promising to 'let him into a good thing.' He did so, and it proved a more friendly act than many a similar undertaking in railway shares.

In speaking of the mental, moral, and physical condition of the children, he adduced the startling fact that, in the previous year, 62,181 persons were taken into custody, of whom 22,075 could neither read nor write, and 28,118 had no trade, business, calling, or occupation whatever, and these figures only approximated to the extent of the evil, as the records of the tribunals and police courts, while they showed the numbers of those whom the constable was quick enough to apprehend, did did not touch the vast amount of unseen and undetected crime, breaches of public order, injuries to the peace,

property, and safety of individuals, nor yet the prevalence of that training which forms those children to a character perilous to the well-being of society.

In describing the nature of the efforts which had been made to rescue these children from their evil habits and associations, he pointed out that there had been many plans proposed for dealing with them, such as the erection of schools (but this was not feasible, because there were no existing agencies by which they could be superintended or controlled), or the adoption of the "hospital system," and the erection of barracks for their reception; and the conclusion at which he had arrived was, that, in the present aspect of affairs, there was nothing better than that the Ragged School system should be extended as much as possible.

The system, however, must, as I have said, be stimulated; and the proposition which I make to the Government is this: that the Government should agree to take every year from these schools a number of children—say 1,000—500 boys and the same number of girls—and transplant them at the public expense to her Majesty's colonies in South Australia. When I make this proposition, of course I do not do so in a dictatorial manner; and if the Government only accede to it, they may vary it in detail precisely as they please. I mention South Australia, because in that colony there is at this moment the greatest demand for labour. I propose, too, that the removal of the children to that colony shall be the reward of good conduct. . . .

If you will hold out to these children, as a reward of good conduct, that which they desire—a removal from scenes which it is painful to contemplate, to others where they can enjoy their existence—you will make the children eager by good conduct to obtain such a boon. There are, be assured, amongst the children, guilty and disgusting as they are, many thousands who, if

opportunities are given them, will walk in all the dignity of honest men and Christian citizens.

After an animated and interesting discussion, Lord Ashley observed in reply, that the reason why he only included the metropolis was through extreme caution; that his object was to make an experiment, and then extend it if it were successful. After the generous manner in which his proposition had been supported, he thought that if he attempted to divide the House, he should only take a hostile course, and convert into enemies those who would otherwise be coadjutors, and he would, therefore, withdraw his motion. Subsequently, however, a grant of £1,500 was made by the Government for the purpose of an experimental trial of the scheme.

June 6th.—Eleven o'clock. Just returned from House of Commons, having made motion on Ragged Schools and Emigration. Had much success in the speech, and some in the motion.

June 12th.—This 'Ragged' motion has produced considerable effect; much is said everywhere. I received abundant letters, onymous and anonymous, in high terms of approbation.

The grant of £1,500, and the contributions of friends, put Lord Ashley in a position to set to work vigorously on the emigration scheme. Although he soon found himself crippled for want of adequate funds, he went heart and soul into the matter, and made the money go as far as possible.

There was never an effort attended with greater success, and we must anticipate a little by looking at some of the results. The children were carefully selected

and specially trained, and each was impressed with the idea that he was to go forth as the representative of a large reserve. Before each detachment started, Lord Ashley visited them, and some of his farewell addresses on the eve of their departure are worthy of being written in letters of gold, so full are they of tender fatherliness and Christian love. Here is a specimen :—

I see you now, my boys, probably for the last time. You are going to enter upon new connections. You are going to a land where much will depend upon yourselves as regards your future prosperity and success in life. The whole world is open to you. I believe you will be placed in circumstances where honesty will not fail to meet with its reward. I hope, when you are far away, you will not forget those friends who have taken care of you here, and the instruction and advice you have received from time to time from those who have felt an interest in you, and that you will not forget what has been said to you to-night. I believe it will be a great help to remember, not only what has been said, but the very countenances of those who have befriended you ; let their presence be familiar to your recollection. Remember the faces of those who are present here to-night. The remembrance may deter you in the time of temptation from doing that which would disgrace yourselves and bring discredit on them. Especially let me tell you, working boys, that, however you may rise in society—and there is no reason in the world why you should not rise—you must still be working men. Christianity is not a speculation, it is essentially practical. It is the only thing for your soul's health to be always at work. Remember this : you have something to do for others as well as for yourselves. You have a character to get, and you have a character to lose. You must not by any misconduct of yours, bring disgrace upon those who have gone out before you. If you bring discredit upon them, you are injuring a whole class. Many of those lads who are now roaming about the streets, houseless and friendless, may yet be brought into this or similar institutions, may be helped or hindered in their future course by your conduct. If that should be

such as would bring discredit upon yourselves and those who send you out, it may hinder their being sent as you are. If there is any one single thing which more than another tends to make a man feel great, it is that he is answerable for his own conduct to God and to society at large. You are going across the water. I have no doubt but we shall soon hear that you have got employment. Whatever your duty or circumstances may be, *never forget prayer*. You may rise to high stations; they are open to you there as here. Whatever success you may meet with in this world—and we heartily wish you may meet with great success—still, my lads, never forget the greatest ambition of the Christian is to be a citizen of that city whose builder and maker is God; and though we may never meet together again on earth, may we all at last meet together there.

Testimony was borne in many, and sometimes unexpected quarters, as to the conduct and efficiency of the Ragged-School boys who were sent out to the Colonies.

It is recorded that a gentleman (Major E. J. Robinson), while travelling in Australia, observed that there were a number of young emigrants whose behaviour presented a striking contrast to others of the same class. They were intelligent, industrious, and of uniform good conduct. On making inquiries, he was told that they were lads who had the knack of never getting into trouble. He accosted some of them. "Who are you, and where do you come from?" "Oh," said they, "we are Lord Ashley's boys." "Lord Ashley's boys?" "Yes, from the London Ragged School."

The gentleman knew nothing of those schools, but resolved that on his return to England he would take an opportunity of learning something of an institution that could send out such lads, a resolution he carried

into effect with great advantage to Ragged-School work.

Captain Stanley Carr, on behalf of the Committee of Australian colonists, and himself a colonial proprietor, bore frequent testimony to the good conduct of the Ragged-School boys. A magistrate in Portland Bay wrote to him, "I should be glad if you could procure for me some of Lord Ashley's lads," and again and again the request came from the Colonies for more. The better they were known, the better they were appreciated.

Many curious letters were sent by the young emigrants to those who had rescued them from their lives of misery and crime. Here is one as a specimen:—

January 15, 1851.

LORD ASHLEY AND LADY CHARLOTTE STURT,—we rite these few lines to you hopeing that you are in good health as we ar at preasant we rite to you to let you no that the monney and intrest you have taken in us to is the means of making us bright men, but before we was a pess to scity and more so to Newgate the house of Correction, for J. B ad bin in gale over seven times on summery conviction and thre times for a trial every one looked on us theves and roges, but in this contry respected as gentlemen when we think of the harships that when threw her it makes us cry kind friends do send Fred field and let im come to us I ham sure that he will do well but he never will in England, for his character is to fur gorn, do Lady and Gentleman try to send im to us, and if he we will pay ten dolers each fore him to come to us so has he can recover his character as we ave done.

No more at preasant from your thankful and obedient friend

JOSEPH BRADY AND JAMES WAY

County of Schenectady, State of New York.
Quaker street post-office.

It was not all smooth sailing with Lord Ashley in his efforts to carry out his emigration scheme, and there are, in the Diaries, many entries which show that the disappointments were as numerous as the successes.

July 21st.—So I am now to be disappointed, nay, deceived! No emigration for my ragged children, unless I raise a sum of money for that purpose. How is that to be done? Not a word was said on this subject when I consented to withdraw my resolution. . . .

Two Chairs yesterday. Opened Westminster Reading-room for the dirty, forgotten workpeople of Duck Lane and Pye Street. Very successful, God be praised—really affecting. Letters and Chairs eat me up; I never refresh my mind with new stores: always speaking, never reading or thinking. God in His mercy grant me a little repose this summer. I am thin as a wafer. . . .

. . . A great deal of melancholy over me, both to-day and yesterday and the day before. Truth is, I am a little tired, and a little disheartened; men are untrue and lukewarm. I am endeavouring to pile Pelion on Ossa, the work of the Titans with the force just sufficient for an ant-hill. . . . Talk of the dangerous classes, indeed! The dangerous classes in England are not the people! The dangerous classes are the lazy ecclesiastics, of whom there are thousands, and the rich who do no good with their money! I fear them more than whole battalions of Chartists. . . . I am as much fretted by anxiety as worn by labour. I cannot feel by halves, nor only when the evil is present. I take it I suffer very often much more than the people do themselves! . . .

July 27th.—An affecting evening yesterday. Gave a tea-party to take leave of our 'ragged' emigrants to Australia, ragged no longer, thank God! They go from private funds that I have collected from the excellent Miss Portal, Mr. Farrer, Lord Wriothesley Russell, and my sister Charlotte. Many were assembled; we addressed them, and many were moved to tears. It was a deeply religious meeting; and a feeling of piety and gratitude pervaded us all. And now here, as then, I commit them, Oh, Lord! to the word of Thy grace—prosper the work! bear them safely, happily, joyously to their journey's end! watch over them in body and in soul; make them

Thy servants in this life, and Thy saints in the next, in the mediation and everlasting love of Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer!

During his perambulations of the slums of London in 1846, by his Ragged School investigations, and in other ways and places, Lord Ashley made himself thoroughly acquainted with the haunts and habits of the young thieves of the metropolis. Some of his descriptions of them are admirable, and his anecdotes telling.

A large proportion do not recognise the distinctive rights of *meum* and *tuum*. Property appears to them to be only the aggregate of plunder. They hold that everything that is possessed is common stock; that he who gets most is the cleverest fellow, and that every one has a right to abstract from that stock what he can by his own ingenuity.*

They make little or no secret of their successful operations, cloaking them only with euphonistic terms; they 'find' everything, they 'take' nothing; no matter the bulk or quality of the article, it was 'found'—sometimes nearly a side of bacon, just at the convenient time and place; and many are the loud and bitter complaints that the 'dealer in marine stores' is utterly dishonest, and has given for the thing but half the price that could be got in the market.†

These children are like tribes of lawless freebooters, bound by no obligations, and utterly ignorant, or utterly regardless, of social duties. They trust to their skill, not to their honesty; gain their livelihood by theft, and consider the whole world as their legitimate prey. With them there is no sense of shame; nor is imprisonment viewed as a disgrace. In many instances it has occurred that after a boy has been a short time at one of the Ragged Schools he suddenly disappears. At the end of a few weeks he comes back to the very spot in the school where he sat when he was last there. The master going up to him says, 'My boy, where have you been?' The boy

* House of Commons, July. 1849.

† *Quarterly Review*, Dec., 1846.

answers, 'Very sorry, sir, I could not come before, but I have had three weeks at Bridewell.' Going to prison is with these children the ordinary lot of humanity; they look upon it as a grievous act of oppression, and when they come to school they speak of it as one gentleman would tell his wrongs to another.

As an illustration of their low state of morality and their utter shamelessness, he instanced what had passed one evening at a Ragged School:—

Fourteen or fifteen of these boys presented themselves one Sunday evening and sat down to the lessons, but, as the clock struck, they all rose and left, with the exception of one who lagged behind. The master took him by the arm, and said, 'You must remain; the lesson is not over.' The reply was, 'We must go to business.' The master inquired, 'What business?' 'Why, don't you see it's eight o'clock; we must go catch them as they come out of the chapels.'

On another occasion he told a story of a City Missionary, a kind and worthy man, who had endeared himself to the whole of a wretched district, and especially to the younger population.

One evening, having put on a new coat, he went, about dusk, through a remote street, and was instantly marked as a quarry by one of these rapacious vagabonds. The urchin did not know him in his new attire—therefore without hesitation relieved his pockets of their contents. The Missionary did not discover his loss, nor the boy his victim, until in his flight he had reached the end of the street. He then looked round and recognised in the distance his old friend and teacher. He ran back to him, breathless. 'Hallo,' said he, 'is it you, Mr. ——? I didn't know you in your new coat; here's your handkerchief for you!'

It was in consequence of his speech in the House of Commons on the subject of emigration that in July,

* House of Commons, June 6, 1848.

1848, Lord Ashley entered into one of the strangest experiences, in connection with London thieves, that ever fell to the lot of mortal man. A City Missionary, named Thomas Jackson, a zealous, earnest, and, in his way, gifted man, had been appointed to the Rag Fair and Rosemary Lane district, where he was known as the Thieves' Missionary. He was in their confidence; his house was open at all times to those who chose to visit him in search of advice and consolation; he was acquainted, far more intimately than the police, with the habits of pickpockets, burglars, and every class of convicted or unconvicted roguery; he had the *entrée* into dens of infamy, and had familiarised himself with sin in some of its most sickening aspects, and yet he carried with him a quiet and a prayerful spirit, and became to Lord Ashley not only a guide, but also a philosopher and friend.

Soon after Lord Ashley had propounded his scheme in the House of Commons, for the emigration of young criminals, it occurred to him to ask a notorious adult thief whether he would like to avail himself of such a scheme. "I should jump at it," was the reply. Thus encouraged, he determined to have the same question propounded at one of Mr. Jackson's meetings, to which discharged criminals only were to be admitted. "It would be a capital thing for chaps like us," was their unanimous answer. Then one of them got up and proposed that they should write Lord Ashley a letter on behalf of themselves and all their tribe, inviting him to meet them, and give them his opinion and advice as to

how they could extricate themselves from their present position. A round-robin was accordingly prepared, and was signed by forty of the most notorious thieves and burglars in London, praying him to meet them. A night was fixed, and on July the 27th, Lord Ashley, without hesitation, and without fear, went to the meeting. Accustomed as he was to strange sights and strange assemblies, he was not prepared for what was awaiting him. There, in a large room, with Jackson in the midst, were close upon four hundred men of every appearance, from the 'swell-mob' in black coats and white neckcloths, to the most fierce-looking, rough, half-dressed savages he had ever seen.

The *City Mission Magazine* for August, 1848, says: "Several of the best known and most experienced thieves were stationed at the door to prevent the admission of any but thieves. Some four or five individuals, who were not at first known, were subjected to a more public examination, and only allowed to remain on their stating who they were, and being recognised as members of the dishonest fraternity. The object of this care, as so many of them were in danger of 'getting into trouble,' as they call it, was, to ascertain whether any who should betray them were present."

Lord Ashley was received by them with genuine enthusiasm, and, after taking the chair, the proceedings were opened by devotional exercises! A chairman, to be at ease, always likes to feel the pulse of his audience, in order to know, as far as possible, what manner of men they be, and the method adopted on

the occasion of which we write was striking in the extreme :—

I was anxious to know what was the character of these thieves; some of them pickpockets, some shoplifters, others of the swell-mob, and exceedingly well-dressed some of them were. Many of them, however, had no stockings, and some of them had no shirts. I wanted to know the great departments of roguery; so the Missionary said: 'His Lordship wants to know the particular character of the men here. You who live by burglary and the more serious crimes will go to the right, and the others will go to the left.' About two hundred of the men at once rose and went to the right, as confessed burglars and living by the greatest crimes.*

Lord Ashley then addressed them kindly but firmly, expressing his willingness to befriend them, not only as his duty but out of regard for them. In the first place, however, he wished to hear them speak.

A number of the men then gave addresses, and anything more curious, more graphic, more picturesque, and more touching I never heard in my life; they told the whole truth, without the least difficulty, and, knowing that they were there to reveal their condition, they disguised nothing.

Lord Ashley had recommended mutual aid, self-reliance, a relinquishing of their old practices, and new resolves for the future. "But how," said one of the men, "are we to live till our next meeting? We must either steal or die." It was an awkward question. Lord Ashley acknowledged that he never felt so utterly impressed with the magnitude of the task, and the feebleness of the power; and confessed, that when Jackson urged them "to pray, as God could help them,"

* Speech, West Middlesex Auxiliary City Mission, June 23, 1873.

he felt a certain amount of sympathy when one of the party rose and said, "My Lord and Gentlemen *of the Jury*, prayer is very good, but it won't fill an empty stomach," whereupon there arose a general response of "Hear, hear!"

One point was made clear that night. It was, that the men were dissatisfied with the life they led, and would do anything to break away from it if they only knew how. One and all they were eager for the emigration scheme, and Lord Ashley promised to do all he could for them. Then one man, on behalf of the rest, exclaimed, "But will you ever come back to see us again?" "Yes," replied Lord Ashley, "at any time, and at any place, whenever you shall send for me." "And," as he said when telling the story, "the low, deep murmur of gratitude was very touching." The result of that night's work, like so many in Lord Ashley's career, can never be known. One outward and visible sign, however, was the fact that, within three months from that date, thirteen of those who were present were starting in life afresh in Canada, while, a little later on, nearly three hundred had either emigrated, or had passed into different employments, and had no need to return to their hateful occupation.

In reviewing the public labours of Lord Ashley during this year, we have almost lost sight of other matters scarcely less interesting. We must, therefore, go back in the narrative.

In the early part of the year, his eldest son, Antony,

had entered the Navy, and in March sailed for the Australian station in H.M.S. *Havannah.*

March 30th.—Just returned from Portsmouth with Minny and the boys; have been to take leave of dear Accy for three years, and perhaps never to see him again; it may be so, but yet I hope, nay, I believe, that God will be with him, and restore us safe and happy to each other. But it is a pang; we feel it more when we reflect, than while we experience it. I see him now; I shall see him for ever till we meet again, standing at the ship-side, and watching us depart. Oh, Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer, have mercy on the lad in body and in soul. . . .

On the return of Lord Hardinge, after his brilliant successes in India, a banquet was given to him, and Lord Ashley, who entertained for him strong feelings of personal friendship, was present, although at that time he was "hurried, hurried, by day and by night." He briefly notes the occasion thus:—

April 6th.—Splendid feast to Hardinge last night, given at London Tavern by E. I. Company. Every man of public note in England was present.

Apropos of one of the speeches made at the festival in honour of Lord Hardinge, the following letter from Mr. Gladstone, characteristic of his abounding verbiage, was received:—

Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone to Lord Ashley.

6, Carlton Gardens, *May* 4th, 1848.

My dear Ashley,—I have to blame myself for not having mentioned to you more promptly what I am now about to state.

In consequence of the great encouragement which I derived from your very favourable and warm reception of some observations of mine at the dinner to Lord Hardinge, about the importance and advantage of giving to the lay communicants of the Church of

England functions connected with her work, and to be performed by them in that capacity, I was emboldened to speak to Lord Harrowby on the subject, with particular reference to the School Committees, which the Privy Council Committee on Education desires to see organised. It had always appeared to me that this desire of theirs afforded an admirable opportunity of trying in a quiet way, within certain bounds, and for a practical and important purpose, a principle of great moment to the welfare of the Church, and one upon which all her sincerely attached members ought to be cordially agreed.

I therefore suggested to Lord Harrowby, as a member of the Committee of the National Society, that perhaps that Society might be disposed to place for the Government, either as the plan which it preferred, or at least as one of the plans which it preferred and thought worthy of the approval of the P. C., a plan by which the members of the Committee should be only such persons as subscribed a declaration, setting forth that they had been *communicants in the Church of England for three years.* It appeared to me that, with Committees so constituted, almost all questions would in practice settle themselves very easily, and the knotty points now in discussion would at once become of very minor importance.

I will not at this time attempt to describe all the advantages which, in my view, would attend both the promotion of such a settlement as this, and the settlement itself after it had been obtained. If I may judge from what you said, and from what I have heard said by others, I cannot but estimate very highly the harmonising effect of the co-operation which it ought to command in the very first instance, as a common decision upon a very important subject, to take effect through common efforts, and one with respect to which all, I think, ought to feel that it would be an honest measure, a measure likely, as far as it went, to develop and confirm the Church of England in her own true character, which, I apprehend, is what they should all on their own principles desire, even though, through human infirmity, they may not have each in his own mind precisely the same image of that character.

Lord Harrowby entered warmly, and I think entirely, into the view of the subject which was the same as I had stated to you ; so did the Bishop of Oxford, to whom we together mentioned it. Lord H. undertook to bring it before the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and the only difficulty was, that he thought the Committee of the

N. S. had just before arrived at a conclusion as to the proposal which they might lay before the Archbishop, with a view to its being submitted to the Government if approved by him ; but he did not appear to regard this as more than an inconvenience, thinking that the subject was still open to reconsideration.

I hope that you may have the means of putting forward either this measure, or some other and like one, at this particular season, and I am certain that if you have them, you will not let them slip.

I remain always,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. Gladstone.

The Lord Ashley, M.P.

One of the red-letter days of every year was the 10th of June. It was spent this year at the country seat of Mr. and Lady Louisa Finch, in Rutlandshire.

June 12th.—Burley on the Hill. Arrived here Saturday, 10th, our wedding day. Well may I thank God for His manifold and various mercies. He has given me eighteen years of happiness, true, joyous, confiding, unalloyed, in the wife of my bosom. Praised be His name, and may He grant that it ever continue, and bring forth fruits to His glory and men's service, for our Blessed Redeemer's sake !

In August, came the long-looked-for relaxation from the harassing cares and anxieties of public business. There was no place in the world that did him so much good as Scotland, and so to Scotland he went.

Aug. 12th.—Galloway House. Galloway, in the height of friendliness and amiable feeling, has lent us his beautiful cottage of Cumloden in the Wigtown mountains ; and thus we are going to enjoy mountain breezes, Scotch scenery, and romantic seclusion.

Aug. 16.—Cumloden. Everything conduces to enjoyment and comfort here ; amusement for the eye, brisk air for the lungs, leisure and contemplation for the mind. I seem in a week to have lost all

power of business, as I certainly have all taste for it; dress in a shooting-coat, lounge about, read all sorts of books.

Oct. 4th.—Inverary. Arrived here yesterday through very beautiful scenery, on a very beautiful day. Duke and Duchess amiable in the extreme; she is a dear, sensible, lovable creature, whom I have known from a child. It is a stately place; trees, rocks, mountains, torrents, and lochs, all in the perfection of the noble and fascinating. . .

Oct. 7th. . . . Have been studying with more regularity and attention St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians; it is a noble work of zeal, piety, and sound argument.

Oct. 10th.—Edinburgh. Left yesterday Inverary, having passed a very agreeable week. We had there Barry, the architect; the Ellesmeres, with two daughters; young Campbell of Islay, Dr. Cumming, M.D., the Kay-Shuttleworths, and Col. Talbot of Canada. Peace be to the house and all in it!

Oct. 16th.—Cumloden. I know not a better preacher than Mr. Johnstone, our minister here at Minnigaff; his matter is true, sound, and plainly evangelical, argumentative, persuasive, touching, practical, and admirably, yet very simply, delivered. He is worth a regiment of ecclesiastical 'Pindars.' . .

Oct. 26th.—Surely no sun ever rose more beautifully than this morning; viewed it with delight. Yet there was a coldness in my affection and a formality in my prayer which seemed little to accord with such a display of God's works. But we must be careful not to estimate the state of our hearts towards God merely by the rapture we may feel at occasional periods; religion would then be measured by enthusiasm; it must be tested by its fruits, by our real and inmost desires, by our daily walk, by our Scriptural belief, by our constant faith, and by our practical life. . .

In the midst of the hurry and worry of London life Lord Ashley rarely found time carefully to read a book, unless it related immediately to some of the questions occupying his attention at the time. On his holidays, however, he read industriously, and was wont to enter in his Diary or note-book a digest of the impressions left

on his mind by the perusal of any work that particularly interested him. Thus, at Cumloden, we find him deep in the study of the "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," and the "History of the 45" by Chambers, and at the conclusion he writes:—

Nov. 7th.—The mass of the world are all erect against the admission of Special Providences; it savours, they think, of fanaticism, hypocrisy, cant. I do not deny the delicacy and difficulty of the subject; to allow it fully, in almost every trifling instance, seems to cripple man's free agency, and supersede secondary causes; to deny it, is to deny God's goodness and mercy, and His moral government of mankind! My memory has just been refreshed by reading two books, the 'Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald,' and the 'History of the 45' by Chambers. Now, if a man be a sceptic, *cadit quæstio*, but if he believe in a superintending Ruler, will he hesitate to say, in the language of our Liturgy, 'O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.' 'In 1719,' says Chambers, 'a plan of insurrection and invasion in favour of the Stuarts was formed by Spain. A fleet of ten ships of the line, with several frigates, having on board 6,000 troops and 12,000 stand of arms, sailed from Cadiz to England, and while this fleet was preparing the Earl Marischal left St. Sebastian with two Spanish frigates, having on board 300 Spanish soldiers, ammunition, arms, and money. . . . The Spanish fleet was completely dispersed by a storm off Cape Finisterre.' . . . In Moore's 'Life of Lord Edward, from p. 282 to 288 of Vol. I., the lesson is most striking.'

We need not follow the extracts. Page after page he collects, and summarises the instances in which, to his mind, the hand of God is clearly visible, and the special providence of God is employed for the defence of this country.

On November the 8th the pleasant holiday in Scotland came to an end, and shortly afterwards we find

Lord Ashley again in the midst of his labours. A few of the special events which marked the close of this memorable year may be noted in this place.

Nov. 15th.—Priory, Stanmore. Here by command of the Queen-Dowager to meet the Queen Regnant. Very stately, but, perhaps, dull. Nevertheless, it is kind and amiable on her part, and I ought to be, and I am, sensible of it. Now, when I say 'dull,' am I quite sure that the dulness is not in myself; and that people, when I call them dull, would not declare that *I* am *dismal?* I seem to have lost nearly the power of thinking, and certainly, altogether, the power of expressing anything. I have two rooms to myself and two fires. I deplore the waste of fuel when there are so many who have none. This feeling is growing upon me, and may degenerate into stinginess, or, at least, a parsimony in the exercise of just hospitality. The amount of waste in all things is prodigious, in some instances careless; in some inevitable. Why, the very crumbs and scrapings of finished dishes in a thousand well-fed families would, week by week, sustain a hundred persons! This, alas! cannot be avoided, but a wanton or thoughtless waste is sinful. 'Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.'

Nov. 17th. — Went yesterday to Harrow; accompanied her Majesty. Day brilliant, boys and people enthusiastic, the whole successful. This is good. Royalty had never shone upon Harrow, which has turned out some good men, and seems likely, in God's providence—oh, that it may be so—to turn out some more! An early impression of respect to the Sovereign is wholesome; it may, in these days, become indispensable. Saw dear Francis, and heard his praises from Dr. Vaughan and the tutors.

Nov. 25th.—Poor Melbourne died yesterday, and to-day he is, of course, gibbeted in the *Times*. This is 'one of the new terrors of death.'

Nov. 30th.—Charles Buller, poor fellow, has been carried off by typhus fever, following on an operation, in the prime of life. I regret his loss. He was a much changed man. His pertness, his light and saucy opinions, had given way to sobriety and kindness of heart; and his humanised feelings had begun to ornament and

invigorate his great talents. Had he lived he might have been (I speak as a man) of real service in his generation. But God is wiser than us.

Dec. 1st.—This day Melbourne consigned to the grave. Attended the funeral at Hatfield Church. May the Lord sanctify the event to those who survive, and say, with resistless power, to us all, '*Watch.*'

CHAPTER XVIII.

1849.

Habeas Corpus Act Suspended—Distress in Ireland—Plans and Projects—Illness—Scheme for Subdivision of Parishes—Good Friday—Idle Ecclesiastics—Attendance at Court—Capital Punishment—A Sorrowful Narrative—Death of a Son at Harrow—Effect on Lord Ashley—Ragged School Emigration Scheme—A Very Precious Letter—Approach of Cholera—Labours on the Board of Health—The City of the Plague—Public Prayers—Correspondence with Lord John Russell and Sir George Grey—Cholera Statistics—Lord Hardinge—Sunday Labour at the Post-Office—Collection and Delivery of Sunday Letters Suspended—The most Unpopular Man in the Kingdom—The Order prohibiting Sunday Labour at Post-Office Rescinded.

Although in the early part of 1849 there was a lull in the excitement which had made 1848 so memorable, there were forces at work in this country which were to create general alarm and uneasiness. In Ireland, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was renewed in consequence of the critical state of affairs, and a grant of £50,000 was made for the relief of Irish distress in certain Unions, where, owing to the severity of the distress, a sufficient rate could not be collected. Referring to this, Lord Ashley wrote :—

Jan. 5th . . Ireland again distressed, and again to be relieved. All admit the fact and the necessity, but wish to throw the necessity on every shoulder but their own. Government propose a rate in aid, which may be questionable as a principle of taxation, but is most just as applied specifically to Ireland. Irish proprietors are, of course, furious, and, generally speaking, not very honest in this respect. What is the remedy for this state of things? What is the

cause of it? Is it the Celtic race? Yet we see many of this tribe in other parts of the world frugal, industrious, orderly; much may be recorded of the economy, foresight, and affection of thousands. Is it the religion? Yet I do not find, however faulty, superstitious, idolatrous, may be their belief and practice, that any physical incapacity is necessarily connected with it; in many heathen nations there may be found much temporal prosperity, and the Tuscan farmers and peasantry show by their high cultivation and general comfort that indolence and barbarism are not inevitably the consequence of Popery. Is it national hatred to the Saxon, or pious hatred to the Protestant? or is it both combined? But if so, this would appear in Ulster, but hardly be known in Connaught, where Saxons and Protestants are as rare as a meat dinner. Is it misgovernment? Why, every measure, however excellent, and by whomsoever brought in, fails at once. And why? You can obtain no agency in Ireland; no one is to be trusted—no public, no private functionaries; all are of one complexion; whatever enters Ireland is transmuted by the prevailing atmosphere; everything acquires an affinity to *job*, and to *job* it all. Whence is this? *Magna luis commissa*, O England! and thou hast not repented of them. But until that be done, and we begin good things in a good spirit (here it is we fail) nothing will prosper.

Among the schemes of labour that Lord Ashley set before himself for the year was, first, the stirring-up of the Board of Health to more vigorous efforts. One hundred and fifty wretched children had recently died of proved neglect, and "They will be the martyrs of a cause of reformation," he wrote. "Their death will be the signal, and the compulsion, too, of an improved and more merciful state of things." Next, a plan for the general Subdivision of all the larger Parishes for ecclesiastical purposes, so that the population of each parish should not exceed 4,000, a plan that he felt certain would effect a greater amount of moral, social,

and religious improvement than a whole code of laws. Then, the completion of Ragged School projects, especially in relation to Emigration; and finally, "the invitation to the stragglers in the lanes and streets; the evangelical coercion through the highways and hedges, according to the commands of our blessed Redeemer. Add to this the ordinary and existing work, and there is my budget!"

The spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak. Lord Ashley's health began to fail, and this was to be one source of hindrance to his projects; while a cloud, which had not yet arisen, was to gather and overshadow him, and make this year memorable for the bitterness of its sorrow. The following is the beginning of a long series of entries extending through many years. They will only be referred to occasionally in the course of this work, but to ignore them altogether would be to detract from the heroism which, notwithstanding, persisted in incessant labours.

Jan. 30th.—Warned by six months of unpleasant symptoms, terrible noises in my ears, sleeplessness at nights, or slumbers broken by strange sensations of nervousness, my whole body appearing to vibrate like a Jew's harp, consulted Dr. Latham. 'Rest or decay,' he replies. 'Over-toil, over-anxiety, over-sensitiveness to the subjects handled during many years, have shaken you in every part; you must be more moderate, or utterly disabled.' I can well believe it —few can know; nay, none know the full extent of my labours, and the full trial of all my feelings. Thank God, I am warned in time, that I may, should it be His pleasure to spare me, husband my strength for a few more years of service; I can do so with a clear and even happy conscience, for I know that I have given to the public, and have not spent on myself, the best of my life and

energies. But yet I cannot contemplate even comparative inaction with joy; but God's will be done! . . .

In his scheme for the Subdivision of Parishes, Lord Ashley was threatened in the first instance with the opposition of Lord John Russell, on the ground that it was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but an interview with the Archbishop disposed of many difficulties, and Lord John withdrew his opposition. On the 1st of March, therefore, the motion was brought forward, although to the last moment there were strong misgivings as to the support it would receive.

March 1st.—My misgivings justified. John Russell writes to me to-day to put off my motion, 'as the Dissenters will oppose it.' What shall I do? If I postpone it I incur many hazards, such as ill health, misrepresentation, no opportunity; if I urge it, I avert the Government. Good may, by God's blessing, be brought out of evil. J. Russell hints at a Commission without a previous motion in Parliament; if so, thank God, I shall be spared a speech; and sad, discreditable disclosures of the wrangles and anomalies of the Church will be avoided. Ten o'clock.—Just returned from the House—a debate—a division, headed by Bright and Hume; beat them, God be praised, by 111 to 18! Kept in uncertainty until two minutes to five, when Johnny said he wished me to proceed. Debate was most triumphant, and the issue all the better, because motion was opposed without a shadow of reason by Dissenters! The truth is, they see it is a heavy blow and great discouragement to Dissent and popular discontent; they see that, by this means, the Church can and will, God blessing us, recover her just position and 'conservatise' the kingdom.

A Commission was appointed, and in the course of a week or two was working harmoniously, with hearty zeal and a desire to see the facilities first, and the difficulties afterwards.

Anything that would arouse the clergy to greater activity, Lord Ashley hailed with satisfaction; his estimate of their zeal and of the religious state of the times is given in the meditation entered in his Diary on Good Friday :—

April 6th.—Good Friday. This is a serious contemplation. Is the world better than the day that our blessed Lord died upon the Cross? Are men individually better? Is the world collectively better? That the externals of society are more refined, that the surface is smoother, that more pious things are said, and more pious actions tolerated, that civilisation has been advanced, and that Christianity is the cause of it, few persons will deny. But how are the hearts of men? Are they cleaner, less averse from good, more given to God? Is the number of the faithful increased, diminished, or stationary? Are we nearer to be an acceptable people? Is there, as yet, any appearance of a Harvest? 'Lord, Thou knowest.' I look around, myself, and am much discouraged. I see but few who could stand a trial, few who love truth and God's will above all things, few who are not ready to find ten thousand excuses for doing what they like, and rejecting what they dislike. My experience may be very limited, and I may form incorrect judgments, but I trace much of our evil to the moral condition of our ecclesiastical rulers and ministers. It is possible that they may be improved in comparison of former days; they are wholly insufficient in reference to the present. Look to the metropolis! Why so frightful a state of spiritual destitution? Why so many wretched, forsaken, naked vagrants? I have said this, and received in reply, 'The clergy are unequal to the task.' Well, then, why do they discountenance and almost insult (the exceptions are few but honourable) those who toil to collect the outcasts in Ragged Schools and make them at least to hear the name of Christ? These men seem to think that of two evils, it is the less for them to die in their sins, than to be brought to knowledge and repentance by the co-operation of a Dissenter! If so, what was there worse in Jerusalem? . . .

Lord Ashley's presence at Court was very frequent, and his Diaries show how constantly his sympathies

were alternating between the highest and the lowest in the land. A few extracts may be given here :—

Feb. 8th.—Here I am at *Windsor Castle.* Came yesterday; sat next to the Queen at dinner; had some interesting conversation. May God, in His mercy to the Realm, raise up for her some Joseph, Daniel, or Nehemiah, some one who, in Christ's faith and fear, shall rule this people prudently and with all his power! . . .

Feb. 12th.—Newspapers of late very full of cases of cruelty to children in schools, in private houses, on board ship. They come between me and my rest, and to no purpose, for the evil is irremediable, except by the grace of God.

May 1st.—Sat in House of Commons to vote against Ewart's motion for abolishing punishment of death. I have a very strong feeling on the subject. Tuffnell gave me leave to be absent for three-quarters of an hour (it being really necessary that I should go and support the Lord Mayor in the Chair of the Plumtree Ragged School), and when I returned the vote was over. I am vexed, for I wished publicly to record my opinion that the Word of God does not permit but *commands* 'He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' . . .

May 8th. . . . Young Peel came forward for the first time, and made a most promising speech in language, manner, tone, and talent. If his principles and his heart are equal to his abilities in oratory (judgment being added) he will be a very considerable man.

May 10th.—To the Queen's concert last night; everything as brilliant and cheerful as music and company could make it; myself rather dismal. . . .

May 15th.—Made a night visitation to Hoxton Lunatic Asylum, having suspicions of misconduct; found, I rejoice to say, things far better than we expected; our system, therefore, of inspection, may be considered successful, and our terrors salutary. Ventilation of apartments very bad. . . .

May 16th.—Last night chair of Ragged Anniversary in Exeter Hall. A stupendous meeting. Prince Albert took chair to-day at Hanover Square Rooms for Servants' Provident Institution. He did his business admirably well, with good taste, good feeling, and

real ability. But, to be sure, if he liked flattery he had full measure of it, and of the strongest quality—pure rectified spirits!

Moved a resolution, as I was desired, though hoarse with roaring yesterday to four thousand people. Thank God that the Prince is what he is, and the Queen too, with a moral Court, domestic virtues, and some public activity in philanthropic things!

May 19th. . . . Seven o'clock. Just heard that some one has fired at the Queen! She is safe. God be a million times praised for His mercy to her and to the country! The profligate George IV. passed through a life of selfishness and sin without a single *proved* attempt to take it. This mild and virtuous young woman has, four times already, been exposed to imminent peril!

It was late in the evening of this day that Lord Ashley received a letter from Harrow which filled him with the greatest alarm and anxiety. It was to announce the serious illness of his second son, Francis. He had been at Harrow since April, 1847, where he had taken and kept a distinguished place in the school, and, at the time of which we write, was in the sixth (highest) form. He was a singularly striking character; old and thoughtful for his years, deeply religious, and pure in heart and habit. The illness with which he was seized was a severe attack of cold and inflammation, and the remedy then applied was one which would not now be even thought of—such has been the rapid advance of medical science—repeated bleedings.

The sorrowful narrative that follows, must be told only in the words of his father, and should it be thought that the incidents are too sacred for the public eye, it may be stated that Lord Shaftesbury had often been urged to preserve them in the form of a short biography, but was withheld from doing so, as he would have

been obliged to say things which would relate to himself, and his motive might possibly have been misconstrued. Almost the last evening that the writer was permitted to spend with Lord Shaftesbury, was occupied in hearing the narrative of the incidents which follow, and it was his earnest wish that they should be recorded. "It may be, nay, I feel sure it will be, useful to others —let it be told," were his last instructions that evening, as he wiped away the tears that had been flowing freely.

May 21st.—Dearest Francis no better. . . . Saw him after he had slept: very feverish, thirsty; but calm, composed, and cheerful. Blessed be God, he is easy and peaceful! Asked me soon after my arrival to read the Bible. Did it joyfully. Read the seventh of Revelation for the glories and bliss of the other world, and the twenty-fourth of Matthew for the present duties and occupations of this. Prepared thus for either alternative of God's will. Then we prayed, and were, I think, comforted. What a darling, tender, true, zealous, and God-serving boy it is! Oh, that he may be spared to us, not for our solace and enjoyment only, but for the Lord's faith and fear! How often have I meditated on his future aid and sympathy in all my thoughts and pursuits for the good of mankind. But I must imitate the example of our dear Lord, and say, 'If it be possible: nevertheless, not my will, but Thine be done!' . . .

May 22nd. . . . He knows his danger, but he knows also his hope. Never have I seen such a boy; though so young, and as the world goes, so innocent, he is filled with a sense of sin and unworthiness; and his only fears are those which spring from a sentiment that 'the joys of heaven are too glorious for one like him.' Oh, what a mercy it is, and what a consolation to us, that he is as far from self-righteousness as the east is from the west! Never have I known till now what I am possibly to lose! 'Read to me,' he said 'about forgiveness of sins.' We then read and talked much of the free and full mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Above all, I urged him,

as a calmer to every apprehension, to bear ever in mind that 'God is Love,' that human love is capable of great things; what, then, must be the depth and height and intensity of Divine love! 'Know nothing,' we said, 'think of nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' The darling boy kissed me repeatedly, and blessed his parents that they had brought him up in the faith and fear of the Lord. Oh, blessed Saviour, this is a wondrous work of Thine; it is the humbleness, the resignation, the piety, the experience of an aged Christian.

May 25th.—Yesterday left dear Francis with great hopes of recovery. His mother stays with him. The disorder has been dreadful; not an ordinary attack of fever, a positive conflagration.

May 28th.—Harrow. Yesterday (Sunday) a day of fearful and agonising anxiety; a better account to-day, and various symptoms of permanent improvement. Sat with him, read the Bible and prayed; he desired specially some prayers of thanksgiving. 'Do you meditate, *can* you meditate,' I said, 'my dear boy, as you lie here?' 'Oh, yes,' he replied; 'but I have learned what a futile thing must be a death-bed repentance. I feel that I have been reconciled to God, but what could I have done, when lying on this bed, to make my peace with Him, had I not before been brought to a knowledge of the Truth!' We prayed earnestly that, if he were raised up, it might be, by Divine Grace, to service in this world and salvation in the next!

Yesterday attended school chapel, and took Sacrament; 120 boys are communicants! Can this be without its fruits? Blessed Lord, water it by Thy Spirit! Why, in my day, not only no boys (and there were many of *seventeen* and *eighteen*) took the Lord's Supper; but no one dreamed of it. Surely a true and well-earned consolation to Dr. Vaughan.

June 1st.—Yesterday, at eight o'clock in the evening, it pleased Almighty God to take our blessed Francis. It was the work of a moment; and we were like amazed persons, so great had been the promise, not many seconds before, of returning strength and vivacity. Yet we must not murmur or repine, for all is wisdom, and mercy, and love, that cometh from Him. The child, we doubt not, is with Christ, which is far better.

June 2nd.—The loss to us is irreparable; if we regard it only in reference to ourselves, we can neither describe nor appreciate the

calamity. What happiness had we not promised our declining years, from his respect, his love, his sympathy, his piety! No pen, no tongue, can set forth the charms and perfections of that blessed boy. But this is a small fraction of the view. We must look at him as emancipated from sin and danger, as received into the embrace of his precious Lord and Saviour, as a dear spirit in the realms of bliss. Is it not that the fruit was ripe, and that God, in His mercy, plucked it before it rotted on the tree? Yet every day and every hour bring his memory to our thoughts—the books—the chair, the things we so often talked about. . . .

I must gather up all that he said; I cannot let any of his words fall to the ground. During his suffering he had a dream. 'I have had a dream,' said he to Mrs. Gay (the housekeeper, that dear, and kind, and religious woman, who nursed him). 'I dreamed that I was very ill, and that I died, and was buried at Harrow.' 'Did he seem disturbed by it?' I asked. 'Not in the least; he took it with the utmost composure.' Blessed be God, his heart was proof against fear; he had said in the early part of his illness, 'Mamma, I fear that I shall be numbered among the fearful;' but God was pleased to reveal Himself more clearly, and, as 'perfect love casteth out fear,' so was it with his dear soul.

June 3rd.—Sunday. Sweet darling, he was unselfish to a singular degree. 'Oh, mamma,' said the blessed boy, 'I am so ashamed of myself, that through my incaution and neglect I have exposed you to this heavy expense.' Thus the dear child, instead of dwelling on his own rightful comforts and remedies, was thinking only of our pecuniary inconvenience.

On Tuesday, after he had first learned his extreme danger from the medical attendants, he said to me, 'Is it so?' I replied 'that it was.' He then called me, saying, 'Come near to me, dear papa.' I went and knelt down by his bedside; he threw his blessed arms round my neck, and kissed me for a very long time, and then said, 'I want to thank you, dearest papa, for having brought me up as you have done, for having brought me up religiously. I now feel all the comfort of it; it is to you I owe my salvation.' 'No, dearest boy,' I replied, 'it is to the grace of God.' 'Yes, it is true,' he said, 'but you were made the instrument of it.' Is there not consolation, almost divine, in these precious sentences? His voice and manner throughout his whole illness were, so to speak,

sublime; he retained his infantile simplicity, and yet he was above himself. His heart was unlocked, and all its treasures displayed. Two or three times his dear mother said to me, 'This boy will never recover—his state of preparation is such that God will take him; he cannot return to the world.' He seemed to have no desire for it; he began, no doubt, after the promises of amendment in his health, to form little plans of happiness, but they were as pure and simple as himself. 'I shall be so happy when I am at home, and under your care, dearest mamma; and I shall see all the dear children, and then, too, I shall be of such use to papa.' Blessed, ever blessed boy, he was thinking of my letters and Ragged Schools. Was he not, indeed, of use to me? How many delightful, useful hours have I passed in his dear society; he was my companion, my coadjutor, nay, half my very soul; the precious boy helped me more than thousands of wealthy, idle, powerful adults.

June 4th.—On that awful Tuesday, after we had read and prayed together, the dear boy said, 'Dear papa, give me your blessing.' I might have replied, like St. John the Baptist, and said, 'I have need of thee, and comest thou to me?' but he asked it, and from my soul I gave it. 'If prayers will avail you,' I said, 'you will have the prayers of hundreds of ragged children.' He seemed greatly pleased with the thought, and his face, as his mother now remembers, quite brightened up. When he spoke of his recovery, which, in his improved state, seemed likely, his rejoicing was of the same simple, modest, unselfish character, all bearing on the exercise of the domestic virtues which are akin to religion. . . .

Saw Hewlett, who told me, more in detail, about his announcement to Francis of his state of danger. The darling child, having ascertained it by inquiry from him, 'received the answer,' says Hewlett, 'with a smile on his countenance, and simply added, "Whatever is God's will is enough for *me*."' This *alone* would have been a real and deep consolation; but, by God's mercy, it is only one of many such sentences.

June 5th.—'What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.' Yet I can see, even at present, many reasons, and we, as God's creatures, must receive them as all-convincing. His death may be the instrumental cause of seriousness and renovation to many, especially of his schoolfellows; it may strike an indelible impression on those of his family who survive; it may

exhibit a beautiful specimen of early fitness, and remain as a monument of Divine Grace! It may chastise me, and yet so mildly, that while I bow the head in submission I am not prostrated by the blow. Oh! what a strange chastisement! My own dear, precious, darling son is taken to everlasting glory, to the end and object of all my labours and my prayers! and this is the Lord's mode of afflicting His people! . . .

How marvellous the influence of this dear, departed boy; how fragrant his name! The school is subdued by sorrow; and tears of affection and words of admiration flow from every one. The boys and the masters vie in language of respect and love. He bore his honours so meekly, and ascribed everything to any source but his own merits. 'Well,' he said, when he heard of the numberless inquiries being made concerning him, 'if I cared about being made a fuss with, all Harrow is coming after me!' Then he assigned it, not to his own deserts, but to mine. 'It is, I am sure, dearest papa, because I am your son.' Blessed, simple-hearted boy, he saw and valued every one but himself!

June 7th.—Francis is dead and *buried*. It is difficult to realise the truth, but so it is. We attended yesterday his funeral, which accomplished his dream that he should be interred at Harrow. Minny and I greatly rejoice that we surrendered our feelings of nature that his dear remains should lie, where, in the course of things, *God willing*, we should pass many of our days and perform many acts of worship, at St. Giles's in Dorsetshire. We consigned him to the churchyard of the school which he had so loved and adorned, and where he needed not preachers, or poets, or the tongue of friendship, or love, to make known his admirable virtues. He was buried in the presence of all his schoolfellows and their several masters; and though sermons and speeches may and will be blessed to enforce his example on those who survive, no one yesterday, among many hundreds, required the word to say who or what he was. 'The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones.' Not so with him; the record of his name will long be fragrant; and I trust, nay, believe (for God will give us this consolation over and above the other), that the monument of stone will also present him to many hearts as a monument of Divine Grace. . . .

June 12th.—They ask me to write a short memoir of my darling

boy. 'It will be useful,' they say, 'to many, and specially to other boys.' If I do so, I must record things in praise, as it were, of myself.

Harrow churchyard is classic ground, to which not old Harrovians alone are wont to go on pilgrimage. Many are the visitors, even from beyond the Atlantic, who, after feasting their eyes on the glorious panorama commanded by the fine elevation, seek out the modest grave marked by the following inscription :—

TO THE MEMORY OF THE
HONBLE. ANTONY FRANCIS HENRY ASHLEY,
THE SECOND SON OF LORD AND LADY ASHLEY,
WHO WAS BORN 13TH MARCH, 1833,
AND DIED AT HARROW SCHOOL 31ST MAY, 1849.
TO THOSE WHO DID NOT KNOW HIM A STATEMENT OF
HIS MANY EXCELLENCIES WOULD APPEAR TO BE EXAGGERATED.
FOR THOSE WHO DID KNOW HIM, NO MORE
IS REQUIRED THAN THE SIMPLE RECORD OF HIS NAME.
BUT HIS FATHER AND MOTHER, WHO HAVE ERECTED THIS STONE,
MUST SAY SOMETHING MORE.
THOUGH SO BLAMELESS IN LIFE THAT HE WAS WITHOUT FAULT
IN THE EYES OF HIS PARENTS AND ASSOCIATES,
HE TRUSTED NOT TO ANY VAIN HOPE IN HIS OWN WORKS AND DESERVINGS.
PRESSED BY THE DEEP CONVICTION OF INDWELLING SIN,
HE ONLY SOUGHT FORGIVENESS IN THE FREE LOVE AND MERCY OF GOD
THROUGH THE ATONEMENT OF A CRUCIFIED SAVIOUR,
AND THUS LEFT AN EXAMPLE TO ALL YOU
WHO SHALL REMEMBER HIS LIFE OR READ THIS EPITAPH,
THAT EVEN THE VERY EARLIEST YOUTH
MAY EXHIBIT THE TRIUMPHS OF DIVINE GRACE.
"IS IT WELL WITH THE CHILD?"
"IT IS WELL."—2 Kings IV. 26.

They were sad and solemn days, those thirteen days when his son lay on his bed of sickness; and sad and solemn were the days that followed. Were it not

that we want to see every aspect of the life of Lord Shaftesbury, we should have hesitated to have intruded even thus far into scenes so private. But it opens up a beautiful page in a man's life, when it can be seen that there was, between himself and his children, such absolute confidence and affection, that they could speak unreservedly together on the subject of personal religion. It sheds a lustre over every public effort for the good of others, when it is known that this was but an extended phase of the work that had been going on in his own home.

Lord Ashley's nervous and sensitive organism suffered much from the shock of this event; and months after (October 11) he writes:—

'The thing that I greatly feared is come upon me;' and remarkable it is that the very effect I ever anticipated from such an event as the death of one of my children, has been produced. It has left me equal to business, with life and energy and sympathy with important interests as warm as ever; but it has thrown an alloy into all enjoyment. Pleasures the most innocent are qualified by it, and nothing has its former flavour. Two objects are constantly by day and by night before my eyes: I see him dying, and I see his coffin at the bottom of the grave. They alternate the one with the other; and the flesh, do what I will, predominates. Then come to my relief his dear and precious words, that God's mercy sent for my consolation. The pain ceases, and then begins anew. I am grown much more nervous and apprehensive. Every trifle, if it be sudden, makes me expect some sad intelligence—a knock at the door, a footstep, a letter, an unusual expression of countenance. The truth is, that the shock I experienced on being summoned in a moment to attend his death-bed—having left him not half an hour in, as we all believed, returning vigour—was far deeper than was then felt. It was a blow of which the internal mischiefs were not exhibited when it was struck.

For many months, there is scarcely a page of the diary that does not record the name of "my blessed Francis." His portrait, ever after his death, was on the mantelpiece in the study at St. Giles's; and thirty-six years later than the time of which we write, Lord Shaftesbury declared his belief that not one day had passed without some conscious memory of his beloved son.

Although it was the first time that death had entered in the family, and Lord Ashley felt stunned by the blow, he did not "sorrow as those who have no hope." Within a week of the funeral we find him busy on the Commission for the Subdivision of Parishes, and busier still in Ragged School work, for a new motive was now added.

> Work of the 'Ragged' kind recalls his image so vividly, and his dear words of sympathy and approval, how could I please him more were he alive, or more, if he be cognisant of what is passing, than by endeavouring to please God in seeking the welfare of those forlorn lambs of our Master?

There were two things for Lord Ashley to accomplish without delay—the prosecution of the Ragged Schools Emigration scheme, and the Bill for the Public Health Provisional Orders.

On July the 24th he again brought forward in the House of Commons his motion for an annual grant of money to be provided for the emigration of a certain number of Ragged School children of the metropolis to the Colonies. He brought it forward at that late period of the Session because it was the only oppor-

tunity he had, and because he was anxious to show the House to what profitable uses the £1,500 he had obtained last Session had been applied; and also, because he was anxious to excite some interest, and, perhaps, discussion, on the preventive, as contrasted with the reformatory, system.

By a system of emigration, as a reward of merit to a certain number of children rescued, by the training received in Ragged Schools, from ignorance and destitution, a double advantage would be gained. Not only would those who actually emigrated be benefited, but those who remained would be incited to join the schools, and to persevere in a course of good conduct, in order to qualify themselves for the reward held out. There could be no doubt that emigration was preferable to employment at home; it abated the terrible competition of the day, it removed the young people far from their former haunts and temptations, and it relieved them from the infliction of excessive labour.

The conditions it was proposed to require from every candidate for emigration, were—sound health, regular attendance for at least six months in a Ragged School, the ability to write a sentence from dictation, to work the four simple rules of arithmetic, to read fluently, to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, showing a comprehension of their meaning, and to answer a few easy questions on the life of the Saviour. To these was to be added, a certificate of regular attendance in some industrial class for at least four months, or a competent knowledge of some handicraft,

or practical occupation, which would serve as an equivalent for such industrial training.

If anything could have stimulated the Government to action in this matter, it should have been the manner in which the £1,500 granted in the previous Session had been expended, the amount of good it had already done, and the permanent good it seemed likely to effect. Letters were read from the boys who had been sent out to Australia—touching letters, full of gratitude and hope, and, in concluding his speech, Lord Ashley said :—

> And now, Sir, revile the system and criticise it as they may, these Ragged Schools have been, and are, the sole means whereby religious and secular knowledge is imparted to the thousands of a race sunk, whole fathoms deep, in destitution and suffering. You vote £100,000 a year for the purposes of education. You might, as far as these miserables are concerned, vote one hundred pence ; they cannot receive any portion of your bounty ; they cannot be accommodated to the system of your National and Borough Road Schools. What other means exist? We have now 82 schools, full 8,000 children, 124 paid and 929 voluntary teachers, of whose services I cannot speak with adequate gratitude and respect. In weariness and painfulness, and with every form of self denial, they surrender themselves, body and soul, to this noble cause, hoping to excite in others a kindred sympathy. But they are not successful. The sympathy with the cause is lamentably small, and especially from those who should be the very first in every work of charity and religion. . . . It is, then, to the House of Commons that we direct our attention, in the hope that the Legislature will take up the duty that individuals seem to reject. I can hardly appeal to your feelings, because you appear to me to lie under an obligation to consider the case of these desperate sufferers. 'Their enemies drive them into the sea, and the sea throws them back upon their enemies ;' and yet they are immortal spirits, as precious, body and soul, in the sight of God, as the very best among us in this august assembly. I commit,

therefore, the issue to the representatives of the kingdom, believing that they will not gainsay by their actions what so many of them profess with their lips, when they pray 'that it may please God to defend and provide for, the fatherless children, and all that are desolate and oppressed.'

In the discussion which followed, several speakers, especially Sir George Grey and Mr. Page Wood, took hold of minor points, and misrepresented the views and statements of Lord Ashley; and in the end, as it was evident there was a strong feeling in the House against his proposition, he felt it would be indecorous in him to press it to a division, and the motion was therefore withdrawn. The country was not ripe for the effort; no second grant was made, and henceforth the Emigration scheme, as regarded Ragged Schools, had to be carried on from private sources.

But the ventilation of the subject in the public press, gave an impetus to Ragged School work generally. The subject became popular; and the fact that the Government would not take up the matter, made the flow of contributions from voluntary sources more abundant than ever.

The strong personal interest that Lord Ashley took in individuals on whose behalf he laboured can never be adequately told. An illustration only can now and again be given. For example, a letter, written in 1849, was found, thirty-six years after its date—that is to say, shortly after his death—in the box which he always carried about with him, as containing the things he most valued. It is written in a cramped, ill-formed hand, and is addressed: "Lord Ashley, Exeter Hall,

Westminster, London." On the cover Lord Shaftesbury had written: "Very precious to me, this letter.—S."

It ran as follows :—

PORT ADELAIDE SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

October 8th, '49.

MOST NOBLE LORD,—I Arived at port Adelade on the 25th March after a very plesant passage and am now in a very comfortable situtation and with very pious people. I like Australia very well but the Weather is so very hot in the summer it is now 6 mounths since I arived here and have need to thank you for your kindness in sending me out. I think with persevience I shall do much Better here than in England. I do not think I shall ever forget the good Advice i recived at palace yard Ragged School and senserily thank them all for there kindness.

Please to except the poor thanks of your obliged and thankful servant

CAROLINE WALKER.

On the back of the letter, written, evidently many years later, although there is no date affixed, is the following :—"She went into service, behaved so well that her master gave her in marriage to his son. She became a considerable person in Australia, and afterwards went to India. Where is she now? God be for ever with this Ragged School girl!—S."

Throughout the year—in fact, from October, in 1848—the country had been in a state of growing alarm on account of the outbreaks of cholera; and Lord Ashley, as Chairman of the Board of Health, was involved in the most harassing and unceasing labours. In the early part of the year as we have said, one hundred and fifty children perished by the pestilence in an establishment at Tooting, for the "care of the Infant

Poor," and it was found that they were attacked when suffering from insufficient food, defective clothing, and impure air. Investigations into further outbreaks, at different times and places, proved conclusively, that "wherever neglect, wherever depression, or vice, or poverty, pressed down the population, there the pestilence raged with its retributive and warning arm; the sins of omission and commission were revisited on the lives of those who perpetrated or permitted them." It was found that foul drains, overflowing cesspools, fetid waters, overcrowded lodging-houses, damp cellars, and ill-ventilated rooms, attracted the pestilence, which then spread to the houses of the better classes, and to the mansions of the rich.

As the summer advanced the pestilence grew in virulence; but while everybody, who could do so, was running away from London as fast as possible, Lord Ashley, with his indefatigable colleagues Dr. Southwood Smith and Mr. Edwin Chadwick, was working night and day in the very midst of the plague. Reviled by the newspapers, resisted by Boards of Guardians, hampered by red-tape, he persevered in his labours; and, be it remembered, that it was entirely unpaid service, which he rendered throughout the whole of the difficult and dangerous time of the existence of the Board of Health.

September 7th.—Labour and anxiety at Board of Health very great. We are now in the City of the Plague, and still by God's love under His shield and buckler. He hears our prayers, and defends against the 'Pestilence that walketh in darkness.' Disorder

increasing; close of last week showed a mortality *trebling* the average of London; 1,881 victims of this awful scourge! Yesterday showed, for the metropolis alone, a return of 345 in one day. Oh, God! Thou art terrible and yet just in Thy decrees.

September 9th.—London is emptied. Cholera worse than ever: returns of yesterday quite appalling, and yet manifest that we do not receive more than two-thirds of the truth. Have been mercifully preserved through this pestilence. Have not, I thank God, shrunk from one hour of duty in the midst of this City of the Plague, and yet it has not approached either me or my dwelling.

September 17th.—*Times* of this morning contains an extract from the *Observer* which is gratifying. The Board of Health may hope little, and perhaps desire little, for the applause of men; but I do much deplore that our anxieties and labours should be thrown away, and we be told that we have done nothing, attempted nothing imagined nothing, wished nothing. Our diligence and zeal are mentioned in the article; yet it is less than justice. We have indeed toiled unceasingly, and not as mere officials, but with earnestness and feeling. Chadwick and Smith are men who may feel, but who know not fatigue or satiety in business, when necessity urges, or duty calls. As for the staff of the Board, miserably paid as they are, with scanty hopes of preferment, or even of continued employment, I am unable to speak with adequate praise. They have laboured even to sickness, and when struck down by the disease, have hastened back to their work, not for emolument (for they receive fixed salaries), but for conscience sake. And such are the men whose scanty recompense certain gentry would reduce by 10 per cent. Out upon this disgusting economy!

The one great cause of surprise and anxiety to Lord Ashley throughout this perilous time was, that although the disease was spreading, and terrible alarm was prevalent, there was no apparent turning to prayer. Not an ecclesiastic attempted to stir the Government to direct public supplication. In vain he wrote to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, and he says, "Surely it is

prodigious that the laity should always take the lead in these things. The world will soon ask 'cui bono?' our spiritual, or, rather, our ecclesiastical rulers."

It was in vain also that he urged a fast-day; and not until alarm was approaching to panic was he able to obtain a special prayer.

As an example of his persistency, the following correspondence is principally given:—

Lord Ashley to Lord John Russell.

BOARD OF HEALTH, *August* 6th, 1849.

MY DEAR RUSSELL,—There is a very deep and extended feeling that the present state of the public health, and, consequently, of public safety, requires some open recognition of the Hand from which the scourge has come, and which alone can avert the terrible results.

I am astonished and grieved that our ecclesiastical rulers have been so slow to enforce on your attention this prime necessity; but the laity are as much a part of the Church as the Archbishops, and I have, therefore, taken the liberty, in their silence, to bring the matter under your serious consideration. Many would desire a fast day; but the majority, I think, would, whatever their private wishes, be content with a special prayer.

The returns of to-day are as follows:—

August 6.—County—Cases, 435. Deaths, 189. London—Cases, 454. Deaths, 182. Compared with last Monday.—Cases, 240. Deaths, 130.

The total mortality of London from cholera in the week ending August 4th—920. In week ending July 28th—783.

Very truly yours,

ASHLEY.

Lord John Russell to Lord Ashley.

RICHMOND, *August* 7, 1849.

MY DEAR ASHLEY,—I have sent your letter to Grey, who is with the Queen.

But I think it right to say that when the cholera appeared in

this country some months ago, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to me proposing a special prayer. I took the Queen's pleasure on the subject, and wrote to him in reply that, as there was a prayer in the Prayer-book on the subject of a common plague or sickness, the Queen thought it better to have recourse to that prayer in the parishes where the cholera had appeared, than to order a prayer in Council. The cholera did not, at that time, make much progress; now the case is lamentably different, but I doubt whether any more appropriate prayer could be ordered by the Queen in Council.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

The Right Hon. Sir George Grey to Lord Ashley.

FALLODEN, *August* 30, 1849.

MY DEAR ASHLEY, — Since I wrote to you yesterday I have received your second letter. Lord John Russell sent to me in Scotland your former letter, on the subject of a special prayer for the removal of the cholera. It appeared, however, to him, and I concurred, that while the prayer in the Prayer-book was quite unsuited to an apprehended epidemic, it was expressly framed with reference to the existence of 'great sickness and mortality,' and that to frame a new prayer now, would be, in effect, to supersede altogether the use of the prayer in question. I wrote to the Archbishop to suggest that if this prayer was not commonly used in all churches in places where the cholera was raging, a letter might be addressed to the clergy enjoining its use. I wrote again to Lord John on the subject a few days ago, and I expect daily to hear from him, but our communications by post are very slow. I still do not see on what ground the prayer in the Prayer-book should be superseded *pro hac vice* by another. But a distinct recognition of the hand of God by a day set apart for the purpose, is a different proposal, and it is that only to which I think people's minds are directed. This should be national, but the disease is at present very partial, and I am inclined to think that local Services, such as I see by the papers, have been recommended by the Bishop of Salisbury, are better adapted for the

existing state of things than a general fast, which would include a large portion of the country in which the cholera is, as yet, happily unknown. This is, again, an advantage in the use of the existing prayer, that it can be used where circumstances justify it, but need not be universally used where it is inappropriate.

I will send your letter on to Lord John Russell.

Yours truly,

G. GREY.

Lord Ashley to Sir George Grey.

LONDON, *September* 1, 1849.

MY DEAR GREY,—Surely you cannot have watched the progress of this pestilence, when you say that its influence has been merely partial. It has ravaged Ireland, it is ravaging London, sparing no place and no classes; it has broken out in 160 towns and districts of England and Scotland; Glasgow and Dumfries will remember the scourge so long as the world lasts.

And as for a special prayer, I asked it only because I did not hope to obtain a Fast. But surely you are wrong again here; prayer is not only to remove an infliction which exists, but to avert its arrival. When I first wrote to Lord John, the cholera had not appeared in many spots where it has since shown its hideous violence. The special prayer might have been framed for use in places untouched by the disorder, the ordinary prayer remaining still for those where the plague was present. But now there is a loud and just call for a *Fast;* and I confess to you that I tremble lest the Government should refuse to listen to it. It will not redound to their honour, or to the security of themselves or of the Realm.

The consternation is deep and general.

Yours very truly,

ASHLEY.

P.S.—From *many* places we receive no returns. There is the greatest effort made to suppress all reports from watering-places or any places of trade or public resort.

Lord John Russell to Lord Ashley.

BALMORAL, *September* 1, 1849.

DEAR ASHLEY,—I have written to-day to the Archbishop, in answer to a letter of his, to say that the Queen will direct a form of prayer to be prepared on account of the cholera.

The visitation of this disease has indeed taken a very awful shape.

Now as to your own health. Carlisle writes me word that he is going to London, and I think you owe it to your family that you should now take the rest, which is so necessary to you. Had I foreseen your duties would have been so severe, I could hardly have proposed the office to you. But, though unpaid, you will, I am sure, feel the satisfaction of having worked for the health and life of your fellow-creatures, in a way that hardly any other person would have done.

Ever, my dear Ashley, yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

On Sunday, 16th September, the special prayer was read in the churches. During the preceding week the number of deaths from cholera raised the ordinary average of mortality from 1,008 to 3,183. By the 13th of the following month, cholera had disappeared, but not until 14,497 deaths from this cause had been registered since the 1st October, 1848. Referring to the special prayer, the diary continues :—

Sept. 17th.—Yesterday, Sunday. The prayer for deliverance from the cholera. A poor substitute for a day of repentance and humiliation; but thank God, better than nothing. . . . Alas! alas! who can trust our ecclesiastical rulers? Does it not savour of a mockery! Was it so that Moses and Aaron stood 'between the living and the dead,' when wrath had gone out from the Lord! What gibes, jokes, sneers, and doubts we shall encounter! What varieties of scoffing and bitterness! a precious occasion for sceptics and worldlings! . . .

It was not until a fairly clean bill of health could be returned, that Lord Ashley allowed himself the rest for which he had long been pining.

Sept. 18th.—Tunbridge Wells. Attended Board of Health on my way through London. Pestilence on the decline. I can be spared from London, and I seek a short repose. But I heartily thank God that I shrank not from the post of toil and danger, but persisted from August 1st to September 11th in the midst of the pestilence, and stirred not till the plague was stayed. The Almighty bore me through and covered me, for Christ's sake, with His shield and buckler. . . .

A few days later, and the following entry occurs :—

Sept. 29th.—Yesterday to Lord Hardinge's with Minny to dine and sleep. He is a good-hearted, simple-minded, generous soldier; a noble fellow in his profession and a real good man. I love and esteem him much, and God ever bless him and his for his pious, manly, true, and thankful acknowledgment, in a public order, of God's mercy to the armies in the battle of Sobraon! . . .

In a letter to Lord John Russell, Lord Ashley, who was always fertile in suggestion, propounded his views on the grant of peerages to distinguished mercantile men, and on the Government of Canada :—

Lord Ashley to Lord John Russell.

Nov. 2nd, 1849.

My dear Russell,—It is quite manifest that you hold my opinions, ecclesiastical and religious, in supreme contempt, and the probability is that you will not regard my civil views with much more respect. Nevertheless, you have always been so kind and good-humoured in allowing me to state what I think, that I shall once more take the liberty, '*extremum hunc mihi concede laborem*,' of offering two suggestions. They will be found on the accompanying papers. I have not argued them at length, or worked them out,

because you will bring your experience and judgment at once to bear on them and see, as the phrase is, 'with half an eye.' My conscience then would be satisfied.

The proposition relating to the peerages could be far better effected by *you* than by many Prime Ministers. Springing from one of the oldest and greatest of our noble families, you could say and do things which might be carped at in others.

Yours very truly,

ASHLEY.

NOTES ON PEERAGES.

Nov. 2nd, 1849.

If it be admitted as desirable to maintain aristocratic institutions, it will also be admitted as necessary to strengthen and adapt them to the wants and character of the times.

This has been the Conservative principle of our hereditary nobility; they have been recruited at various periods from the middle classes. Hence their superior position, in every respect, to foreign aristocracies.

The times in which we live are mightily changed, compared even with the times of fifty years ago. The policy of the Sovereign should change in the same degree and proportion.

Is it necessary, or expedient, to confine, henceforward, the grant of peerages to the possessors of land, and exclude from them men who are actually in trade and commerce?

Some of the most wealthy, virtuous, intelligent, generous, and patriotic men, are to be found at the head of great mercantile establishments. The admission of these gentlemen, *as such*, to the House of Lords would greatly popularise the Peers in the hearts of the nation, and confer essential benefit on the Assembly itself.

Of course nothing would be said beyond the expression of a wish that, if they accepted the title, they would make a suitable provision for its maintenance, when transmitted to their children. As an instance of what is proposed, why not elevate to the peerage such men as Mr. Jones Lloyd, the banker, Mr. Gregg, the cotton spinner, and others engaged in business?

ASHLEY.

Short Notes on Canada.

Nov. 2nd, 1849.

The difficulties and expenses of governing Canada are become very great; and yet you can neither abandon it altogether, nor permit annexation to the United States. Erect it, with its actual Constitution, into a kingdom, to all intents and purposes independent, and offer Prince George of Cambridge as the Sovereign.

The people are loyal and accustomed to Vice-regal Government, prefer monarchy to a republic, and will, if separated from us in this way, be firm allies to the Mother Country, and a counterpoise to the power of the United States.

A continuation of our present expenditure for a year or so, would be sufficient to start the Canadas on their new career.

The principle is good to enfranchise colonies as soon as they have arrived 'at years of discretion,' and the mode will remove the reproach, that we have nowhere set up in the Colonial Dependencies those institutions which, with all their faults, have ensured more of civil and religious liberty, more of public and private peace and security, than any other that have been tried in the whole history of mankind.

Other colonies may follow in succession, when they are as ripe as the Canadas. Anglo-Saxon princes will not be wanting.

Ashley.

Lord John Russell to Lord Ashley.

Nov. 4th, 1849.

My dear Ashley,—I have this moment received your letter of the 2nd. I do not hold your opinions, ecclesiastical and religious, in supreme contempt. On the contrary, I have often acted in accordance with them, but I must reserve *some* liberty of judgment to myself.

In civil matters we are not so far apart, as I *have* offered a peerage to Jones Lloyd, and in confidence I may tell you I believe he will accept it.

He was with me yesterday on the subject.

I will say no more, as I do not intend to send this by the Sunday post.

Yours truly,

J. Russell.

In defence of the Christian Sabbath—its claims, duties, and privileges—Lord Ashley was, throughout his life, always on the alert. Any encroachment upon its sanctity, from whatever quarter, was sure to bring him to the front; and any effort to guard and honour it, was equally sure of his co-operation and support.

While he was resting at Tunbridge Wells, a rumour reached him that a Government order had been issued for all clerks in the Post Office to attend to their official duties on Sundays as on other days. Instantly he wrote to Sir George Grey, Lord John Russell, and Lord Clanricarde,* appealing to them, as Christians and Statesmen, to interfere, and, in the course of a few hours, he had placed himself at the head of a movement, organised by the employés of the Post Office to resist the demand. A few days later, he came up to town to preside at the Freemasons' Tavern over a full and enthusiastic meeting, to protest against the action of the Post Office authorities. Referring to it he says:—

Oct. 6th.—This movement for increase of Sunday labour at the Post Office is terrible; it is the fruit of a self-seeking Mammon-serving spirit, and the more difficult to encounter as it is hypocritically based on a pretence of reducing the labour of the provincial offices. Have written earnestly to Russell, Grey, and Clanricarde; answers very unsatisfactory; the answers of men, who, whatever they may believe of Scripture, have *no zeal* for God's service.

The protests were in vain; and on Sunday, 28th, he writes:—

* The Postmaster-General.

Nov. 20th, Sunday.—On this day will begin the new ministerial scheme of Sabbath labour at the P. O. Should it succeed, should it increase revenue, and gratify moneyed men, alas, humanly speaking, for the Sunday altogether! But we pray and trust that God 'will blow upon it,' and bring to confusion the vile attempt. The true remedy lies in closing every P. O., metropolitan and provincial, from 12 o'clock on Saturday night, till 2 o'clock on Monday morning.

For the present he was unsuccessful; but within a short time he was to return to the charge with resolution undaunted.

On May the 30th in the following year he moved, in the House of Commons, that an address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she would be graciously pleased to direct that the collection and delivery of letters on Sunday might, in future, entirely cease in all parts of the kingdom. A noisy debate ensued, the Government strenuously resisting; but Lord Ashley's motion was carried by 93 to 68! He was conscious, however, that the triumph would be short-lived, and wrote, a day or two afterwards:—

June 2nd, Sunday.—It will be a satisfaction, at least, to reflect that I have laboured for the repose of these poor men; but difficulties grow between me and the attainment of it. Should the Government not reverse the decision, the P. O. powers will take care that the whole thing be complicated and utterly fail.

In reply to the Address, her Majesty adopted the resolution, and thus confirmed the victory that Lord Ashley had won in the House. Lord John Russell announced that it was the intention of the Government completely to carry out the vote, and that no exception would be made even in favour of foreign correspondence.

For three weeks the Sunday post was stopped throughout the kingdom; and during that period, and for some time after, Lord Ashley occupied the unenviable position of being the most unpopular and the most roundly-abused man in the kingdom. He writes:—

> Mouths are yawning against me in anger and contempt. Not only the papers, but all society, are furious, and all this because certain aristocratical people will not have their gossip in the country every Sunday morning. . . . It requires either strong shoulders, or an ass's skin, to bear the strokes. . . . The variety, universality, and bitterness of attack are quite original.

Of course the newspapers teemed with letters, from irate correspondents, descriptive of the inconvenience, and calling for immediate alteration. The Government, after advising the Queen to adopt the resolution, returned to the House, and, represented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, set to work to neutralise the effect of the vote by publicly inviting petitions to prove the inconvenience and damage.

> The press, and society still more, so they tell me, teem with vituperations and hatred. Epithets and appellations are exhausted; bigot, fool, fanatic, Puritan, are the mildest terms. They seek to beat me with my own weapons, and lament the 'desecration of the Sabbath' of which I am the cause! Truly 'Satan is transformed into an angel of light.' . . .

On the other hand, Lord Ashley received letters "of deep, earnest, grateful joy from postmasters and messengers, full of piety and prayer," and letters of thankfulness and offers of aid from many unexpected

quarters, with the assurance that "no real inconvenience had arisen anywhere, but much comfort in many places."

It was not for long, however, that the controversy was to last. An inquiry was moved for, and entrusted to Lord Clanricarde, Mr. Labouchere, and Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, the result being that the resolution, with the order of the Postmaster-General under it, were rescinded, and the Sunday delivery was replaced on its former footing.

CHAPTER XIX.

1850—1851.

Trusteeship of Money—Miss Portal—Death of Rev. E. Bickersteth—Mediation—Ash Wednesday—In Paris—Adolph Monod—Low Haunts of Paris—At Madame Pozzo's—The President's Reception at the Elysées—Lamartine—Theatres—Board of Health—Extra-mural Interment Bill—Death of Sir Robert Peel—Memories—In Scotland—The Papal Aggression—Dr. Wiseman—The "Durham Letter"—Great Meeting at Freemasons' Hall—Letter from the Bishop of Oxford—Speech on Progress of Popery—Action of English Catholics—The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Archdeacon Manning joins the Church of Rome—Roman Catholics and Roman Catholicism—Christian Fellowship—The Great Exhibition—The Shoeblack Brigade—Bible Stand in Exhibition—President of British and Foreign Bible Society—Speech at Anniversary Meeting—Model Lodging-house Bill—Common Lodging-house Bill—Death of Lord Shaftesbury—Lord Ashley Reviews his Career.

"By doing good with his money a man, as it were, stamps the image of God upon it, and makes it pass current for the merchandise of heaven." In the course of his life there were many who thought that the greatest good they could do with their money, was to place it in the care of Lord Shaftesbury. He always had schemes on hand which needed help. Every one who knew him, knew that, as a trustee of money, he was scrupulously exact, and that not a penny entrusted to him would fail of accomplishing some direct end; and it was known, too, that he had special channels for circulating it where it would be most useful. At various periods of his career, large sums of money were placed at his disposal for charitable purposes, and the last months of his life

were much occupied in the disposal of a legacy of £50,000 left to him for distribution among charities.

He was probably never more grateful for such aid to his schemes, than at the time when, the Government having failed to further his efforts to promote Emigration among Ragged Schools, the whole burden of supplying the means for it fell upon the exertions of the benevolent. There was one lady, Miss Portal, who was always ready to help in any work of mercy in which Lord Ashley was specially interested, and many times in the course of the diaries there are entries like the following, relating to her Christian love and munificence :—

Jan. 6th.—Received yesterday a draft for £1,000 from that dear woman, Miss Portal, to be laid out, at my discretion, on Ragged Schools, emigration, and whatever can advance the temporal and spiritual well-being of the youthful outcasts. This makes now £3,300 with which this pure-hearted and disinterested daughter of Zion has supported my efforts. May God bless her basket and her store, her body and her soul, her heart and her spirit, with fruitfulness in faith, joy, peace, prayer, and everlasting life ! . . .

On the same day in the following year a similar entry occurs :—

Jan. 6th.—Miss Portal, with her wonderful, though usual munificence, sent me £1,000 for the relief of the most neglected and destitute, Ragged Schools, &c. God bless her gift, and bless her, dear woman. She has been a real comfort to me ; her sympathy and co-operation, her simple, humble-minded generosity, have given me great support. . . .

Money and help flowed in from many quarters in furtherance of the Emigration scheme — the Queen and Prince Consort sent £100—and, so long as such

resources lasted, the greatest success attended the labours of Lord Ashley in this direction, notwithstanding a bitter attack made on Ragged School work generally, in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, and reiterated elsewhere. The Ragged School system was, however, built upon too solid a foundation to be much injured by newspaper calumnies, and Lord Ashley's advocacy of its claims in and out of Parliament became the means of making it one of the most popular institutions of the day. It was noteworthy that at the annual meeting of the Ragged School Union in this year, long before the hour of meeting, there was not standing room in Exeter Hall, and no fewer than from 1,500 to 2,000 persons went away unable to obtain admission.

One friend who, more than any other, had been a constant sympathiser and earnest coadjutor in Lord Ashley's labours—the Rev. E. Bickersteth—was, early in this year, called to his rest. In his society Lord Ashley had always found satisfaction; on almost every subject their views were identical, and many a solemn hour had they spent together in discussing the state of the times in relation to Tractarianism; in pondering over unfulfilled prophecies—the frequent subject of Mr. Bickersteth's pulpit discourses—in talking over the restoration of Israel to their promised land, and, dearer than all, in hoping and praying for the Second Coming of the Son of Man.

On the 17th February he writes:—

'Lord, he whom Thou lovest is sick.' Is this too much to say of Bickersteth? I trow not. This dearly-beloved friend and fellow-

servant is grievously ill ; and prayers, we bless God, are daily made for him throughout the Church. How little can we afford to lose such a champion for the Truth. And yet I hardly dare to ask that he be detained longer in this sinful and suffering world ; but we may safely ask, and do ask, that he may enjoy consolation and assurance in the grace and mercy of our blessed Redeemer.

On February the 28th Mr. Bickersteth died ; and it was long before there was another to take his place in Lord Ashley's memory and affection. Some time after his death, when harassed with cares for the Church, he wrote :—"How I miss, and shall continue to miss, the warmth, the joy in good, the sympathy, of dear Bickersteth. How many times his words have encouraged or consoled me."

Before proceeding to dwell upon the larger subjects that were to specially engage the heart and brain of Lord Ashley, a few extracts upon general matters may be given here from his diary.

Feb. 8th.—Windsor Castle. Came here yesterday. On Wednesday speech at Sanitary Meeting. Walked through state-rooms ; saw and loved a picture of Edward VI. He and my blessed Francis were counterparts of each other in thought, in heart, in service, in age, and in death. They are probably now together humbly and joyously adoring their blessed Lord ; and as they sleep in Him, so will they come with Him ! 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' . . .

In the House of Commons a serious altercation had taken place, on the 7th of February, between Mr. Horsman and Lord John Russell, arising out of charges made against the Government by the former in a letter to his constituents. It is to this that the former part of the following entry relates :—

Feb. 13th.—On evening 11th acted as mediator between J. Russell and Horsman, without previous concert with either; was urged to it by Hume, V. Smith, Inglis, &c. My bat-like position gave me facilities. Prayed to God, and succeeded. Many spoke to me afterwards very kindly on the subject. Gorham affair still unpronounced upon; it is supposed that the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury, working on the duplicity of the Bishop of London and the simplicity of the Archbishop of Canterbury, will retard the decision that the clergy may have time to protest against the tribunal; and they themselves, during the delay, take the chapter of accidents! Wrote finally to Russell to urge despatch; he replied that 'he viewed, with much suspicion, the conduct of the Bishop of London.' Singular it is, the state in which I am; I am almost forced to have 'a finger in every pie.' I verily believe, that humanly speaking, I was instrumentally the cause of the safer construction of the Gorham Committee. Certainly Lord John had never dreamed of the Archbishops as assessors, before I had suggested them.

Ash Wednesday, attended church; afterwards the Board of Health, then proceeded to Pye Street. Had agreed to make one of a *small family dinner-party* with my mother-in-law;* but when she filled it with strangers and raised it to *sixteen*, I declined. It is not that I attach any peculiar sanctity to the day; but it has been set apart by the Church for confession and meditation. Festivities, therefore, are not in accordance with it, and would shock the feelings of many conscientious members. . . .

Feb. 21st.—By desire of Prince Albert attended meeting at Willis's Rooms, to move resolution on behalf of the Industrial Exhibition of 1851. Though I am disposed to regard the thing as having 'more cry than wool,' I went in obedience to his wishes. Twenty-two speakers, some very long; I, the twelfth, for four minutes, and never did I dislike anything so much. . . .

In March Lord Ashley left London for a fortnight's visit to Paris. Crossing in the boat with him was Sir Richard Mayne, the head of the London police, who told him that the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*

* Lady Palmerston.

had been unceasing in his activity to raise up a bad feeling among the police against Ragged Schools, as being mischievous in their tendency. Sir Richard Mayne not only denied the charge, but was able to prove that juvenile commitments had decreased, and that the police regarded Ragged School teachers as their greatest allies. It was the habit of Lord Ashley to "gather as he went;" and in future Bills, dealing with the juvenile "dangerous" classes, he found the information he gathered that day of great value.

One of his first visits in Paris was to the Eglise Reformée, to hear the Rev. Adolph Monod preach.

April 1st. . . . and right glad I am that I did so, for a better and more touching sermon, more pointed and true, and effectively delivered, I never heard. It was steeped in evangelism; and the worthlessness of man's works and the free grace of God, savoured every thought and expression. It did me and Minny real good, and I felt truly comfortable. . . . The sun shines, the houses sparkle, the shops abound; all is bustle, felicity, bunting and gobble—yet 'all faces gather blackness;' not a cheering word drops from any one, no matter what his station, politics, or education. The utmost of comfort is, 'it will not be just yet.' That mysterious '*it*.' The syllable contains the renewal of sixty years of Revolution, of proscriptions, wars internal and external, fall of trade, distress, men's hearts failing them for fear. By-the-bye, sat next to Guizot at Monod's sermon.

In the following year, when Lord Ashley was again in Paris, he was less successful in his visit to hear Monod. The church was the Temple de Sainte Marie. It was crowded, the heat oppressive, and the people not over civil. "I saw here," he said, "at least *liberté*, for the beadle slammed the door in my face; *egalité*, for no

one was better treated by each other, or the officer, than any one else; but no *fraternité*, for they drove me from point to point, until, having reached the bottom of the church, I could go no further."

The immediate object of Lord Ashley's visit to Paris was to examine the homes and haunts of the poor, to see what practical hints could be gathered in sanitary matters, and to contrast and compare methods of meeting the evils incident to all great cities. Hence we find him visiting, "in the way of trade," as he says, Montfauçon, the slaughter-house of horses; the Cité Ouvrière, "desolate, and without inhabitant;" the Abattoir Montmartre, "excellent, well-placed, no dirt, no cruelty;" the Salpetrière, where, during the cholera, 1,600 out of 5,000 had died, the reason assigned being singularly confirmatory of experience in England—"rooms over-crowded, great faults of construction, exceedingly ill-ventilated."

Paris had a great charm for Lord Ashley—its tints, its climate, its movement, its life, the kindness and courtesy of the people—and yet he looked upon all with a feeling of sadness. "I cannot bear," he says, "to think of the horrors that designing and self-seeking men—men of low personal interests and godless ambition—are preparing for this generation. As I walked through the gardens and through the streets, contemplating the numbers of young, pretty, and playful children, I felt as Elisha, and wept to think of the sorrows in store for them, the widowhood, the orphanage, the desolation, and suffering."

This feeling was to a great extent shared in by the Parisians themselves, as the following notes will show :—

April 4th.—It is strange the condition of mind of all in this city. Every day, sometimes twice a day, rumours of a decree, a *coup d'état*, a Bill which will drive the Socialists to fury, then a struggle. Went to Madame de Lieven's yesterday evening ; saw some notables, but heard the same as elsewhere ; the French gentry are at their wits' ends. I remarked that the people were misled by evil and designing leaders. Guizot maintained that the people were 'utterly corrupted from their very youth, having neither moral discipline nor religion ; they would be quite as bad without them.' Thence to Madame Pozzo's, the great Legitimist house. No difference of sentiment or expression ; all gloomy, apprehensive, and life from hand to mouth. And yet they live in show and distraction everywhere—no end of play-going, balls, parties, receptions ; plenty of fear, and no thought ; abundance of anticipations, and no preparation ; a dismal future, a present gaiety—'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' . . . 'I have not had,' said Madame Pozzo to Minny, 'a day of assurance for two years ; I have had the actual day, but no security of the morrow ;' and yet these Legitimists dream of 'reaction,' and, as M. Pozzo informed me, had already their plan '*pour modifier la ville.*'

Four o'clock. Very weary. Penetrated and perambulated Faubourg St. Antoine, and the street behind the Hôtel de Ville. All is speciously fair ; saw nothing externally so bad as London. These wide streets and tall houses are very fallacious ; they look rich and easy, and hide, in fact, abundant wretchedness. The exterior of the Faubourg St. Antoine would lead no ignorant person to believe that it was rife with violence and revolutions ;—all is show, and on the surface, there is nothing behind. Thence to the Chamber. It has the look of a bad theatre, with uncomfortable boxes and ill-chosen decorations. Stayed one hour and a half, during which time the Deputies threw pellets and papers into urns, and did nothing else. Bored to death, so came away.

A scene in the Chamber yesterday, which ended nearly in blows. Threats were uttered, and fists shaken These are but symptoms of

internal fires. The offending party was fined *fifteen days' pay.* Was there ever anything so vulgar?

April 5th.—Last night to the President's reception, Elysée. The style simple, without pretence. Amused in contemplating the various figures, and the various parts they might play hereafter. Changarnier there in plain clothes, with white moustaches and a black wig; he looks like a Tartar cat. Certainly, for a Republic, there never were so many orders, ribbons, stars, and other decorations. We know whence they came, but whither do they go? The immorality of the nation lies at the root of all the evil and all the danger; it is not misgovernment, oppressive taxation; it is not religious persecution, nor denial of freedom; it is not the presence of a griping Church, or a monopolising aristocracy; it is not any political defect, or any civil abuse or blunder; it is the utter want of all religion, all sense of God, all respect for man. The domestic system, the prime ordinance of God for human society, is nearly extinct. 'In thee and thy seed shall the *families* of the earth be blessed.' Mark the expression; not the nations, not the people, not the individuals, but the 'families' of the earth. This, however, is cut up at the very roots; their mode of life, their dwellings, their amusements, their tastes, their passions, all are incompatible with the cares, the toils, the duties of domestic existence. Hence, to save money and gratify their selfish and carnal desires, the unnatural and disgusting conditions respecting children; hence the total neglect of thousands of their offspring, consigned from their birth to the charge of distant and indifferent hirelings; hence the annual exposure of 30,000 children in the streets of Paris, many, too, they say, born in legitimate wedlock. I will rest (but not unto us, oh Lord, not unto us) the superiority of England over France on this alone: 30,000 infants abandoned every year in Paris on a population of 1,000,000, not 300 in London on a population of 2,000,000!

April 6th.—Dined with Lady Elgin last night, Rue de Varennes, to meet Lamartine. He is over head and ears a poet, and looks like one; he talks well, and is highly interesting while he recounts his revolutionary experiences. But I could not trust him; he seems to take sober and practical views of nothing, all is resolved into the fitness of the affair, or the moment, for a speech, or a stanza. Doubtless his prodigious oratorical abilities are a great source of temptation to him. He showed as much when he said yesterday, 'If it

were not bad for the country, I should rejoice to live my period of power over again, it was so exciting.' He is the only one who speaks with assurance of the future, but, then, he is become once more a candidate for office. His wishes are fathers to his thoughts. He rendered great service, all must confess, in the first moments of the dreadful insurrection of 1848, but I cannot regard him as a disinterested man.

April 10th.—Dined last night with Madame de Lieven, and met many French gentlemen, Guizot, &c. &c. Sat next to me a 'Legitimist.' 'You have been saved,' he said, 'by the religion of your people.' I observed that the 'best and only mode of humanising the working classes was to go amongst them and prove that you studied their best interests.' 'This,' he replied, 'is now impossible with us; the masses are in so awful a condition; and every obstruction besets us; all our men of science, station, and note, are professed infidels.' It is so, but what a contrast to England! Yet we must not boast. Who made us to differ? . . .

April 11th. — Dined last night with Monsieur and Madame André. A party of French Protestants desirous of listening to stories about Ragged Schools and other modes of assisting society. Kind, hospitable, and friendly; full of zeal and piety. Deeply alarmed by the state of the Parisian people, and equally anxious to devise some means of encountering it, but their difficulties, it cannot be denied, are tremendous. . . .

To-day we start for England. . . .

Lord Ashley's views with regard to amusements will have been found, from various extracts given in this book, to have been much wider than those of many with whom he was associated, and whose views in great measure he was supposed to represent. The principle which governed him was that laid down by the Apostle, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient."

To oblige Minny went to Théâtre Français, not having entered a playhouse for very many years. I have abstained in deference to the

opinions and feelings of those with whom I have been associated in religious undertakings, *and I shall do so again*, though I am disposed to believe that the theatre might be made a 'School of Virtue.' Told, besides, that it was necessary to see *Valeria*, in order to ascertain the public mind of Paris, its views and sentiments. Saw nothing but a bad play, well acted.

One of Lord Ashley's first acts on his return from Paris, was to send in his resignation as Chairman of the Board of Health. We have seen how arduous his labours had been during the year of cholera, and they had not decreased. It was not, however, on the ground of the labour involved, that he wished to discontinue his services in connection with the Board. He had seen the necessity of a change in the laws concerning the burial of the dead in the metropolis, and had prepared a Bill for their amendment—the "Extra-mural Interment Bill." Early in January of this year, he received a letter from Lord Carlisle informing him that the Government proposed to take out of his hands the future conduct of that Bill. This, however, was but one of a series of disappointments which are alluded to in the diary thus:—

They expect me, I perceive, to devote my time, thoughts, almost life, to the business of the Board of Health; to prepare the plans and Bills, but then to have no voice or discretion in the proposal or conduct of them, nor any little honour that may accrue from the scheme and the industry bestowed upon it. (Honour, in these matters, becomes *influence* and *power* to do more). I am to sit in the House of Commons, and speak when they want me, and vote as they like, but without the privilege to advance or recede, as I may see fit from my knowledge of the question. Thus I am to be reduced to the station of a senior clerk in the Home Office, and, meanwhile, all my other projects languish because I am withdrawn from attending to them. It

is the duty of the Minister to assign the introduction of the Bill, and then to adopt it. God give me counsel and judgment to act aright, but this is my conclusion. I will, if they adopt the measure, labour in and out of the House to pass it into a law, but I shall then retire and resume social questions that have fallen into comparative neglect. The Government throw on me the small, tedious, harassing details of the Provisional Orders, but the measures of credit they reserve for themselves. This, however, has altered and abated my duties for the Session, because I am now detached from the special charge of the sanitary measures, Interment, Water, Building. I cannot hide to myself my own disappointment; partly, I had hoped that my name (is this an illegitimate desire?) would be inseparably connected with these reforms; and, partly, I hoped that intense labour and anxiety would not be without their fruits. 'He best can paint them, who can feel them most.' I tremble for the issue, in ignorant or unsympathising hands. . .

Notwithstanding the disappointment, Lord Ashley considered that the Interment plan was one of the best ever devised, and was likely to be productive of real moral effects on the poorer population, and he continued to work at it laboriously. The appointment, however, of Lord Seymour as President of the Board, over the head of Lord Ashley, who had borne all the burden and heat of the day, greatly changed his position and impeded his action. It was this that led to his tendering his resignation. But Lord John Russell would not hear of it, and, sinking his own preferences for the general good, Lord Ashley continued, at great personal sacrifice, to retain his office. If he could not keep the Interment Bill in his hands, he trusted, at least, that he should be able to carry through the Bill for the Metropolitan Water Supply, and, in fact, he made this a condition of his remaining on the Board.

Throughout the year, and still later, the diary contains many entries relating to these matters, of which the following may be taken as specimens to show the nature of some of the difficulties that assailed him.

June 5th.—Interment Bill. Passed but three clauses in nearly five hours. Much attacked and reviled. . . . These are the sweets of unremunerated public life!

June 8th.—Again a long, heavy, vexatious night on the Interment Bill; carried, however, a principal clause. Have, I thank God, kept my temper, though somewhat spitefully assailed.

July 18th.—Yesterday gave whole day to wander over the wild heaths of Surrey, around Farnham, in quest of springs and getting grounds for Water Supply of the Metropolis. Started at ten and returned at ten. Saw all that we wanted, found rivers to break out in the desert, and confessed that God was bountiful. But will *man* be so? It is overwhelming, heart-breaking, awful to reflect, how many thousands are deprived, in this *Christian* city, of the prime requisite for health, comfort, decency, of an essential prop and handmaid to morality! . . .

Dec. 12th.—The Water Supply, for which alone I remained at the B. of H., will be set aside or emasculated by the Government; and yet I made this measure a condition of my stay there. The situation is painful, because it is become that of a clerk, and I am made, by Seymour and Grey, to feel it hourly. The Board has no free action, no power to effect any of its decisions, for the Treasury and the Home Office refuse, or thwart, every proposition.

Jan. 31st, 1851.—The labours and anxieties of the B. of H. have, I suspect, contributed not a little to my disorders. I feel these subjects deeply; they are intimately connected with the physical and, to no small extent, with the moral welfare of mankind. I am grieved, harassed, overwhelmed with variety of work, a dull position, and a dismal horizon. I want neither honour, nor praise, nor payment; but I want some little fruit of protracted toil and expended health. . . . But what shall I do? Shall I persevere, or shall I retire? I want the time for the stirring and precious business of this Session. I want it for other movements of service to God and man. I want

it for moments of reflection and repose; but I must not seek my own, but Thy will, O God.

The summer of this year saw the close of a very remarkable career, and one with which Lord Ashley was, more particularly in his earlier life, closely associated.

On the 24th of June there was a debate on the foreign policy of the Government, introduced by Mr. Roebuck, and continued over four nights. On the 28th Sir Robert Peel spoke, and his speech was generally admitted "to be characterised by great kindliness of feeling and political foresight." It was his last speech, his last appearance in that House, where, ever since 1809, he had been one of the most conspicuous members. On the following day, as he was riding up Constitution Hill, after entering his name in the Queen's visiting book at Buckingham Palace, his horse shied and threw him over its head, and Sir Robert, still keeping hold of the reins, drew the animal upon him with its knees between his shoulders. The injuries were not at first considered likely to be fatal, but their extent was not really known. On the 1st of July, the symptoms grew more and more alarming, and on the following night he expired.

June 30th.—Sunday. Yesterday Peel was thrown from his horse, and injured by the fall. God have mercy on him in mind and body! . . . Called to inquire after Peel—do not quite like the account, though I trust that all will be well.

July 2nd.—Peel still in great danger—poor man. May God be gracious to him! . . .

July 3rd.—Peel is dead. He died last night, at eleven o'clock,

in full consciousness, having seen his family and friends, and taken the Lord's Supper at the hands of the Bishop of Gibraltar. What an end! What an event! Are we not all in the midst of death? It has deeply afflicted me; he was a great intellect, and had some noble qualities. O Lord, give us hope that he has found mercy in Christ Jesus, and sanctify it to us all! . . . House this morning was adjourned in respect to poor Peel. This awful death has revived many recollections, and stirred many feelings of ancient days. . . .

July 5th.—Yesterday J. Russell pronounced an eulogy on Sir R. Peel, and proposed a public funeral, which was declined, with gratitude, by Goulburn on the part of the family, who urged a passage in his will expressive of a desire to be interred in the vault at Drayton. It was well and feelingly done on both sides; but, as it went on, I could not but estimate how worthless are these things. How did they affect him? how did they console his family? And yet such have been in history, the springs of many brilliant actions, and, perhaps, will be so again. The true value of it is nothing; the same minds that have recorded their panegyrics will, as soon as the peculiar shock is over, review his course with critical 'justice,' and qualify the praise that was uttered in the moment of sympathy. Human applause is very tempting; but woe to the man who confides in it; there is no secure and fruitful honour but that which cometh from God only. As the shock subsides, reminiscences arise. This event, that was at first terrible, is becoming sad. The man, his voice, his figure, all are before my eyes. It is truly awful. May God in His mercy bless the affliction to his wife and children!

July 9th.—This day Sir R. Peel will be interred at Drayton, and then speedily forgotten. Such is human fame, and yet in many respects, one of the greatest men of this generation! The Duke of Cambridge expired this day. I deeply lament his loss. . . He brought the branches of the Crown into frequent contact with the charitable institutions of the metropolis and the comforts of the people.

July 25th.—Attended, on Tuesday, a meeting to do honour to Sir R. Peel, and to second a resolution moved by the Duke of Wellington! Had been requested to do so by Goulburn and Graham, and of course complied. He had wonderful qualities of various kinds, and his loss is great.

In August, Lord Ashley, who had not been in really good health since his severe attack of illness in 1848, left London for a tour in Scotland, in the hope that he might renew his strength and be braced up for the work which lay before him in the winter. The Duke of Argyll had lent him Roseneath, the Duke's place on the Clyde. We will not follow him through the tour, except to note one or two incidents. At Tarbert he met, by accident, Mr. Locke, the Secretary of the Ragged School Union, and suddenly, vividly, there came before him "the ragged race, and indeed, all the race of unhappy, forgotten, ill-used children." In intervals of leisure he tried to read a few books, and keep pace with the generation; but he found that "while he roamed over the older works he had missed, he let go the new, and so, like panting Time, he toiled after them in vain." In one part of his journey he went seven miles in a spring cart, "rightly so named, for he was never made to spring so high before." And in another he was "entrapped to ascend the hills with a shooting-party, and found himself unintentionally converted into a deer-stalker, although he neither fired a rifle nor saw a stag." At the little town of Tain he records this surprising fact: "I was made 'free of the city.' *The first public honour I have ever had.* It was kindly proposed, and most flatteringly conferred in the Town Hall, nor am I indifferent to the goodwill and esteem of a body of citizens, though small and remote."

When the Session of Parliament was closed by the Queen in person in August, there was peace at home

and abroad. But a new chapter in the ecclesiastical history of the country was opening, and within a few weeks the whole kingdom was to be agitated, as it had rarely been before. One of the most marked features of English history, during the nineteenth century, has been the continuous growth of liberty of conscience. One by one, the disabilities of Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Jews have been removed; but, with all this large-hearted tolerance for almost every form of faith and practice, England never forgot that there was an ecclesiastical system which, in its era of supremacy, wrote its history in characters of blood, and, while yielding complete religious freedom, even though cautiously and tardily, to all law-abiding Roman Catholic subjects, watched jealously for any manifestation on the part of the Church of Rome of a desire to re-assert her ancient pretensions.

Thirty-six years ago the fear of Rome was much more dominant in England than at the present day. Circumstances have altered, and a "No Popery" agitation of national dimensions would require for its exciting cause a high-handed policy, such as no ecclesiastical body seems ever likely to venture upon again in this country. Indeed, it is difficult to believe how thoroughly the heart of England was stirred by the institution of certain titular dignities which are still illegal, but are now accorded, as a matter of course, in our ordinary conversation and in our literature.

In October, 1850, there was published a Papal Bull, abolishing the Administration of Roman Catholics in

England by Vicars Apostolic, and appointing instead, two Archbishops and twelve Bishops, with territorial districts distinctly marked out. Lord Ashley was in Scotland when the Bull was published, and his first view of the matter, written at the moment, is noteworthy.

> Oct. 25th.—Inverary. Events are beginning to be rife; the Pope, by a Bull, has divided England into dioceses with *territorial* titles, such as 'Archbishop of Westminster.' We must be careful not to push this matter too far; it is an act of great annoyance and audacity, but not contrary to law, nor worth, in fact, a new law. It must be used as a warning, as a stimulant, as a proof of Roman ambition.

The aspect of affairs soon began to assume a more serious complexion. Dr. Wiseman was appointed the first Archbishop of Westminster, and raised to the dignity of a Cardinal, and, in this capacity, he sent to England the notorious pastoral dated "From out of the Flaminian Gate at Rome," a document which inflamed the Protestant fervour of the country a hundredfold more than the Papal Bull. Apparently ignoring the English Church and its episcopate, he spoke as if England had been restored to the Romish communion, and would henceforth be ecclesiastically governed by the new hierarchy. The following extract will serve as a sample of the arrogant assumption that characterised this extraordinary document:—

"The great work, then," wrote the Cardinal, "is complete; what you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair churches which normally constituted

the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion. Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour. How wonderfully this has been brought about, how clearly the hand of God has been shown in every step, we have not leisure to relate, but we may hope soon to recount to you by word of mouth."

The recent proceedings of the Tractarians had prepared the people for a unanimous cry of "No Popery," and all the Protestant sects and communions united to resist these outrageous demands. Had Sir Robert Peel been living, he might, perchance, have calmed the popular excitement, or, at least, have directed and subdued it; but Lord John Russell, who was now Premier, saw an opportunity of dealing a blow at his Tractarian foes, and "raised a tempest, from the effects of which his Government soon after suffered shipwreck." On November the 4th he wrote to the Bishop of Durham, what was long after famous as, "The Durham Letter."

After pointing to his own advocacy of the Catholic claims in past years, he denounced the recent measures of the Pope as "a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our Bishops and Clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times." He went on to say that his alarm was not equal to his indgination, and that the

necessity for taking active measures should be duly considered. But there was a danger which alarmed him, in the fact that clergymen who had subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles should "have been the most forward in leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice." After denouncing various ritualistic practices introduced by the Tractarians, he wound up by saying: "I rely, with confidence, on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or life, so long as the glorious principles, and the immortal martyrs, of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making, to confine the intellect and enslave the soul."

This letter won from Lord Ashley the strongest admiration, and roused the whole country to a ferment. The course of events is noted, stage by stage, in his Diary from which we now quote:—

Nov. 3rd.—Edinburgh. People have often rebuked me as a croaker, as a bird of evil augury; but, as David says, 'Is there not a cause!' I never fear attacks, but I tremble for the spirit that resists them. The Pope and his decrees are nothing; but the Puseyite Churchmen and the Laodicean nation are enough to inspire terror. I am ready to conflict with Infidelity, and defy it; but I sink with dismay when I find the University rife with the German philosophy, and ecclesiastical Judases, pretending belief in the Holy Scriptures, betraying the Son of man with a kiss!

Nov. 5th.—Gunpowder Plot day! It was a mighty deliverance, for which we of this generation are about as thankful as we are for the rescue of Daniel out of the lions' den. And yet, when has God dealt more mercifully with any people?

Nov. 7th.—London. The feeling against the Papal Aggression is deep and extensive. The 5th November was rife in town and country; a display of zeal and Protestantism; various meetings of clergy, strong and resolute expressions. John Russell has written a letter to the Bishop of Durham on this subject, bold, manly, Protestant, and true. It is admirably written, and is ten times more imbued with religious Protestantism and veneration of the martyrs than I should have expected. The document is worthy of Lord Burleigh, or of Cromwell in his defiance of the Duke of Savoy.

Public meetings denouncing the Papal Aggression were being held throughout the country, and petitions were adopted calling upon the Government and Legislature to intervene. It was impossible that Lord Ashley could remain away any longer from the scene of conflict, and on November the 11th we find him again in London and at the head of the Anti-Popery movement.

Nov. 11th. Took chair at conference of clergy and laity to devise mode of meeting present crisis; sat for five hours; fearful of disunion; all settled, by God's blessing, on a little management; agreed to a committee to stir country. How shall we 'improve the shining hour?' Such an occasion may never return.

Nov. 21st.—The Cardinal's manifesto is out; bold, astute, unscrupulous; but, with all its cunning, more hurtful to the shooter than to the target.

Nov. 25th.—What a surprising ferment! It abates not a jot; meeting after meeting in every town and parish of the country. Vast meetings of counties, specially of York. At concerts and theatres, I hear, 'God save the Queen' is demanded three times in succession. It resembles a storm over the whole ocean; it is a national sentiment, a rising of the land! All opinions seem for a while merged in this one feeling.

An announcement having been made that a great meeting was to be held to discuss the question, the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), "striving," as his bio-

grapher says, "to hold the balance between the two parties in the then excited state of opinions," wrote to Lord Ashley thus :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Lord Ashley.

CUDDESDON PALACE, *Dec. 3rd*, 1850.

MY DEAR LORD ASHLEY,—Seeing that you are to be Chairman of Thursday's meeting at the Freemasons' Hall, I trouble you with this letter. Your kindness to me whenever we have met, leads me to hope that I am not, in doing so, taking any liberty with you. I am anxious to do so: 1st, on my own account; 2nd, on account of the Church. 1st,—For myself. At all similar meetings the conduct of the Bishops has been (as is natural) considered, and *I* have been very generally blamed for encouraging Romanising opinions. The alleged proof has been mainly my toleration of Mr. Allies.* Such an impression is quite natural, but it is quite untrue. So long as Mr. Allies acted under the engagement he had formed with me, I felt bound to bear this unjust suspicion in silence; but *now* I believe the interests of the Church require, and circumstances allow, of my justification. I believe my power of justification to be complete. I have written down, therefore, a short statement of the case; and I trouble you with it, with the request, that if the charge is again made you would contradict it. My request is that you would state the facts, not that you would read my letter, as if I stood on my defence. You are, of course, at perfect liberty, if you deem it needful, to satisfy yourself from other quarters of the accuracy of this statement. I know of no other allegation which can be made against me of carelessness as to these matters. My clergy well know how firmly I have set my face against such views as those of Mr. Allies. It is, however, natural, perhaps unavoidable, with such a press as we have at this time, with my poor brother's† notorious course, and with my own distinctly High Church opinions, that I should labour under the unfounded reproach of holding

* The Rev. T. W. Allies, a young High Churchman, who wrote a book entitled "A Journal in France," full of Romish doctrine. He afterwards joined the Church of Rome.

† The allusion is to Henry Wilberforce.

secretly that I have always opposed. And this brings me to my second head. You will be, more than anyone, able to direct the current of Thursday's meeting; to settle whether it shall set against *bonâ fide* Romanising tendencies in the Church (by which *I* mean the revival of a system of auricular confession, sacramental absolution, the sacrificial character of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the denial of Justification by Faith, &c., &c.), or whether it shall be a mere attempt to brand as Romanisers all those in the Church who are of the school of Andrews, Hooker, Beveridge, &c. Of this school I am a member. I make no secret of it. I have, as I believe, dropped no one truth of my Evangelical education, but I hold those truths in a more consistent and, therefore, a firmer grasp. But the question I am anxious you should let me suggest for your thought is this: Can it strengthen us as a Church against Rome, against Latitudinarianism, against irreligion, against Socialism, and our frightful social evil, to drive out, or render suspected, all the earnest-minded and, I will venture to say, spiritually-minded men in this our day of exceeding need of every aid?

I am, my dear Lord Ashley, most truly yours,

S. OXON.

"To this letter," says the biographer of Bishop Wilberforce,* "Lord Ashley replied, that at the meeting he was not only most anxious to avoid personalities, but that he would do all in his power to prevent them. He explained that the object of the meeting was to prevent Tractarian dogmas, which, as he said, drove whole congregations to Dissenting chapels, and which were rapidly turning the Church of England into a free Church." There is no reference to this correspondence in Lord Ashley's Diary, nor does a copy of his reply appear to have been kept.

On the 5th of December, the meeting—a large and

* "Life of Bishop Wilberforce. By his son, Reginald G. Wilberforce." vol. ii., p. 69.

influential gathering of lay members of the Church of England—was held at Freemasons' Hall, "to protest against the insolent and insidious attempt of the Bishop of Rome," and to invoke the Queen's aid for the suppression of Romish innovation in the Church of England. Over this meeting Lord Ashley presided. Addressing his Protestant brethren of the Church of England, with grief that the exigency of the times required this distinctive epithet, he called upon them to show, by their "vigorous, ready, and persevering antagonism, that the ecclesiastical establishment of these realms is the right of the people, and that the people will defend the right to the last extremity." He continued:—

A foreign priest and potentate, who misunderstands and misgoverns his own people, who is kept on his miserable throne, to the oppression of his own subjects and all religious liberty, only by outlandish bayonets, to the everlasting dishonour, I must say, of the French people, has presumed to treat this realm of England like 'to a tenement or paltry farm,' part its soil into provinces and dioceses, invest his nominees with titles of episcopal and territorial jurisdiction, and usurp the functions of our Royal Mistress. We protest against this as an act of monstrous audacity. It ignores alike (such is the modern phrase) the Church and the State, Her Majesty and the Bishops. We own, under God, no rule in these kingdoms but that of our beloved Queen, and the laws and constitution of the realms; and, God helping us, none other shall be planted here in civil or ecclesiastical authority. It may be said that a title is of little import; yet, if any one hold the contrary, let him urge it on these intrusive bishops, and tell them that 'a rose by any other name would smell as sweet,' and see whether they will yield to the argument. But the name is of mighty importance; it is always of prodigious weight with those who do not reflect, and who, after all, are the largest portion of mankind. Why, then, if it be so valueless, do the Roman Catholics insist on its adoption? Why, for a trifle, invoke a Papal Bull, and disturb this country from John o'Groat's

House to the Land's End? Mark the true reason: the Romish Church claims sovereignty and jurisdiction over every baptized soul; those very people who denounce the Cardinal—I have lately read it in a Popish periodical—are the Cardinal's spiritual subjects. To call himself, as he is, Bishop of the Roman Catholics in the city of Westminster, would be to forego that claim, and shrink within his rightful sphere; to call himself Archbishop of Westminster is to assert the whole spiritual sovereignty of the district, and demand its subjection to the See of Rome. Can you doubt this? Read the manifesto:—'Whether the Pope appoints a person vicar apostolic, or bishop in ordinary, in either case he assigns him a territorial ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and gives him no personal limitations.' Why, here is the whole thing; and because we see that their hierarchy is incompatible with ours—because, not content with equality, they aspire to supremacy, we will resist them step by step, inch by inch, nor yield them one hair's-breadth beyond that which we have already ceded.

After quoting the statement of Dr. Wiseman that a hierarchy was needed in order to introduce the Canon Law, Lord Ashley continued:—

Do you know what the Canon Law is? It is a law incompatible with the civil law of this realm; it is subversive of all religious liberty; it permits—nay, enjoins—persecution of heresy; it elevates the Pope as God, and asserts that he is superior to all human and national laws. We deny synodical action to our own Church, shall we allow it to a rival and hostile body? Hitherto we have been free from this moral pestilence; and if we resist this hierarchy we shall continue to be free; admit it, and you admit the introduction of a code which denounces, not only those who are now without the pale, but all who may be persuaded to withdraw from it. But let us not be misunderstood. We do not stand here to ask for penal enactments. We do not ask, nor demand, a reimposition of the former disabilities; we will invade no rights of our fellow-subjects; but, by the blessing of God, *they shall not trample on ours.* We wage no war with the Roman Catholics of these realms, but we wage interminable war against the Pope and his Cardinals. And yet, when I reflect on the vast good that we have received from this outrageous assault, in the start from our slumbers, and in the attitude

of our people, I am disposed to take a forgiving view, and in these days of testimonials, to propose a vote of thanks to the Pope, with what I am sure he will prize above all things—a handsome edition of the polyglot Bible!

But enough of the outside mischief. Let us turn our eyes to that within, from Popery in flower to Popery in the bud; from the open enemy to the concealed traitor; from the menace that is hurled at our Church, to the doctrine that is preached from our pulpit; from the foreign assailant, to the foes of our own household. What has invited this aggression? What has induced the Court of Rome, so wily, cautious, and penetrating, to throw aside the sheath, and openly attack the Capitol? One may say one thing and one another; one may see the encouragement given by successive administrators to Papal pride and Papal endowments—the precedence, the annuities, the marks of honour; all, no doubt, have had their share, and no one more deeply deplored them than myself, yet I maintain that they are all secondary causes, and this is not the time and place to discuss them. But what are these to the great and master-temptation—the manifest tendency in many of our clergy, in faith and practice, to the faith and practice of the Church of Rome? the numerous perversions of that unscriptural creed, the adoption of rites, ceremonies, and languages fitted only to a Popish meridian? Need I enumerate them? You know them well; and when to this they add the teaching of false and heretical doctrines; when they add the practice of auricular confession—the most monstrous, perhaps, of all the monstrous practices of the Romish system—who can wonder that the appetite of the Pope was whetted, that his eyes were blinded, and that he believed the time was come for once more subjecting this Protestant land to his odious domination? Now, we insist on these details, not only because they are 'histrionic' arrangements, adapted only to the theatre, and impeding all worship, in spirit and in truth, but because they are the symptoms of a deep-seated corruption of faith and doctrine, enticing, and intended to entice, the people from the simplicity of the Gospel, and to lead them to submit to the sacerdotal forgery of a sacrificing priesthood, and the necessary and inevitable train of abominable superstitions. Here is our daily, hourly, imminent peril. It is for the sons of the Church to protest against these enormities in all their length and breadth. What else can be done? Do not some of the bishops tell you that they are

powerless; that they speak, exhort, command, but the rebellious Tractarians will not obey? Have they not nearly all declared the extent of this festering mischief? What other course can we take to obtain a general and united expression of feeling? The laity love their Church, its decency, its simplicity of truth, its Gospel character, and they will maintain it in all its efficiency; but that Church must continue to be scriptural;—if it change its character, and cease to be such, why then they will lie under the same duties, and they will entertain the same feelings as their forefathers, when, disregarding everything but the confession of the Truth, and the honour of Almighty God, they broke, at all hazards, from the unscriptural and unholy Church of Rome. I speak here for myself. I doubt not I speak the sentiments of thousands in this realm, that if we be driven to this necessity (which God in His mercy avert!) I had rather worship with Lydia, on the bank, 'by the river side,' than with a hundred surpliced priests in the temple of St. Barnabas.*

[Here the whole assembly enthusiastically rose to their feet, and the ladies joined in the vociferous cheering which succeeded.]

Referring to this meeting, Lord Ashley wrote in his Diary:—

December 5th.—Well, to be sure. I never saw such a thing; the enthusiasm, from the first moment to the last, was miraculous. The audience would have remained and cheered till midnight; time after time they rose from their seats, and shook the room with thunders of applause. But the feeling was more than boisterous—it was deep and sincere, and had all the character of being permanent and religious. The speaking excellent; the laity shone in power and theology; many pulpits could not produce such solid stuff.

The Roman Catholics in England saw with regret the results of the latest outcome of Ultramontane policy. On November 17th they sent up an address of loyalty to the Queen, and asserted the purely spiritual character of the new organisation. A few days afterwards Lord

* St. Barnabas, Pimlico, was notorious at this time for its ritualistic practices.

Beaumont, a Roman Catholic peer, publicly regretted the ill-advised measure of the Roman Pontiff, which had placed English Catholics in the position of having "either to break with Rome, or violate their allegiance to the Queen." On November the 28th, the Duke of Norfolk expressed his unity with the sentiments of Lord Beaumont. The action of the English Catholics and of the Puseyites was a source of great anxiety to Lord Ashley, who wrote:—

December 20th. . . . Enthusiasm against Puseyites no wise subdued; but I, nevertheless, am out of heart; the unity of purpose, the systematised action, the vigilance, penetration, zeal, and perseverance of our enemies are a match for a discipline ten times greater than that we can show. It is the difference between a large militia force and a small standing army; *we* have the numbers, but *they* the experience and skill. It is *our* occasional and momentary occupation, *their* single vocation and profession. They, so far as I can learn, have few or no dissidents; we are crippled by half-hearted, timid, crotchety, or hostile men. The Evangelical party itself is sadly disunited.

December 23rd.—Windsor Castle. Prince sent for me after morning service, and we spent an hour and a half on Church matters. I am delighted, and I bless God for his zeal, judgment, perception, and vigour.

Some idea of the ferment of the times may be gathered from the fact that between the 14th and the 30th November no fewer than seventy-eight works on the Papal Aggression issued from the press.*

On the reassembling of Parliament, the subject was alluded to in the Queen's Speech by the announcement of "a measure calculated to maintain the rights of the

* *Publishers' Circular*, December 2nd, 1850.

Crown and the independence of the nation against all encroachments;" and on the 7th February the Premier introduced a Bill to prevent the assumption of ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom, which was denounced by Roebuck, Bright, and others, but strenuously supported by Lord Ashley. By a vote of 395 to 63 the House permitted the Bill to be brought in. Referring to his speech, which was an admirable exposition of every aspect of the case, Lord Ashley wrote:—

Feb. 11th.—Great success last night on Papal Aggression; as great, it seems, as I ever had in my life; enthusiastic commendation from many. . . . Home late; head in a frightful state of vibration. . . . Many Roman Catholics have spoken to me civilly, and declared that, though I vigorously stated my opinions, I said nothing offensive to them. This is happy.

The progress of the Bill was delayed for a time by a Ministerial crisis.*

March 1st.—Who can now assert that the Pope has no power in England? He has put out one Administration, and now prevents the formation of another. . . . Wrote yesterday to Prince Albert, and told him the feeling of the nation; it will reach him, I guess, *inopportunely*, but he desired me to tell him the truth, and I have done so. God bless the endeavour!

March 3rd.—Seven o'clock. Government reinstated, every man of them, according to the slang, 'as you was.' Russell announced that he should proceed with the Anti-Papal Bill, having promised some amendments.

The Bill was re-introduced on the 7th March, but very much toned down in its character. The opposition to the measure was still formidable, and there was a seven nights' debate before the second reading was carried.

* The celebrated cartoon in *Punch* will be remembered. It represented Lord John as a naughty boy chalking up the words "No Popery," and then dodging round the corner.

On the 18th March Lord Ashley again put the matter forcibly before the House, from his own particular point of view. He asserted that, in the tone of Napoleon in his most haughty and terrible days, the Pope had virtually declared that the House of Hanover ceased to reign; and discussed at length the manner in which "such a Protean power, presenting alternately and conjointly every form of spiritual, temporal, and ecclesiastical policy," was to be dealt with. "It pretends," he said, "to be spiritual in England, ecclesiastical in Spain; it is temporal everywhere, though professing it nowhere; it is democratic in Ireland, and despotic in Austria; it terrifies statesmen in Sardinia by refusal of the sacraments, and the Government in France by a refusal to support them at elections; here it is, in England, appealing to the rights of man and the liberty of conscience; and there it is, in Italy, denouncing them by the lips of Pope Gregory XVI., as 'that absurd and erroneous maxim, or wild notion, that liberty of conscience ought to be assured and guaranteed to every person.'" In conclusion, he declared his belief that England "would not give way to Rome by submission —no, not for an hour," and added, "What may be the issue to the nation, no man may foretell, but for ourselves, happen what may, we will, by God's blessing, stand immovably on our immortal Faith, which we have neither the right nor the disposition to surrender."

One practical outcome of the agitation was, that on the following day a great meeting was held, for private conference, of members of the Church of Eng-

land, clerical and lay, and representatives from all the orthodox Nonconformists in London—"all who held the Head—the great truths of Christ's gospel."

March 20th. . . . It was to see whether we could not, under God's blessing, lay aside our minor differences and make a common front against a common enemy. Met at eleven o'clock at an hotel in the Adelphi—everything prospered; the Divine Hand was manifest in the fervour, earnestness, self-control, and mutual goodwill of the assembly. It was a noble and a *Protestant* sight, and illustrated the Apostle's benediction, 'Grace be with all those that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.'

A committee was formed to consider modes of operation, and, at Lord Ashley's suggestion, to endeavour to include the Protestants of every nation, and the result was the formation of a vigorous Protestant association.

Another outcome of the agitation is thus referred to :—

April 8th.—Archdeacon Manning has joined the Church of Rome, and four clergymen in Leeds have done the same. Lord, purge the Church of those men, who, while their hearts are in the Vatican, still eat the bread of the Establishment and undermine her!

The further story of the unfortunate "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill" may be briefly told here. It was elaborately discussed in Committee, and then read a third time on July the 3rd, after which the Lords dealt with it in due course. But the later stages of the measure were not marked by any of the old enthusiasm. It became law, and then, curiously enough, "no one seemed one penny the worse or better," and Englishmen freely used, as a matter of course, the territorial titles which had put the nation into such a flutter only a few months before.

Twenty years afterwards the Act was repealed, though the illegality of the titles was again explicitly affirmed.

Before passing away from this subject, it may be stated here, that, throughout this controversy, and at all times, Lord Ashley was scrupulously careful to maintain a wide distinction between the Roman Catholic priesthood and laity, and any "violence" of language he ever used, was directed against the former, while to the latter he was invariably tolerant. Passages innumerable from his public speeches and private writings could be quoted, were proof necessary; and as the charge of "never being able to see good in any save those of his own way of thinking" was not unfrequently brought against him, it may be well to show that this was unfounded. He warmly supported Mrs. Chisholm, and attended, from time to time, her "group meetings" of emigrants. "This is a novel and most admirable scheme of colonisation," he writes in his Diary, July 17th; "but many people suspect that the Devil is in it, and that Mrs. Chisholm, who is a Papist, has no views but the extension of Romanism." Referring to the self-devotion of Roman Catholics to the great works of charity and love, he said: "I can speak with no disparagement of those sisters of charity and mercy who, in long black gowns, perambulate our streets; I speak of them with deep respect; engaged, as they are, in works of compassion, goodness, and tenderness; but I maintain that in our own Protestant faith we have sisters of mercy to vie with them." * In a speech at

* Ragged School Union, May 11th, 1868.

St. James's Hall, in defence of voluntary schools, he said: "I confess that I sympathise with the Roman Catholics in this matter; it is natural and just that they should insist on the full teaching of all the points essential to their faith; they *must* insist upon a distinctive teaching in religious matters." Again, in a speech protesting against the exclusion or discouragement of religious teaching in schools aided by grants from the State, he said: "I would rather have any form of religious teaching when there is something definite, though there may be only a particle of what is true. I would much rather children went to almost any other kind of school than to one where religious teaching was prohibited. I would much rather be a Papist than a Positivist, and I, for one, will accept and believe the syllabus of Rome in preference to the syllabus of Birmingham." And again on the same subject in another place: "Whatever I may think of their system in other respects, the Roman Catholics have, I must say, always been true to the great principle that religion should be the alpha and omega of education, and they shrink with horror from the very notion of a place of education where religion is not the primary consideration."

In things spiritual, however, it was utterly impossible that he could have any "fellowship" with Roman Catholics, and in his opening meditation in the Diary for the year 1851—the year of Anti-Papal controversy—he defines the principle which governed him. He writes:—

Jan. 5th.—Broadlands. Sunday. 'Grace be with *all them* that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' This shows clearly not only what is permitted, but what is enjoined, in the walk of Christian labour;—to wish 'God speed' to all such, and to give them the right hand of fellowship in all works of love and charity. This overrides all ecclesiastical differences, all distinctions of form and human arrangement, all the modes and varieties of non-essentials; but it demands the full belief of evangelical truth, the joyous reception of Christ's blessed Atonement, His perfect work, His everlasting dominion, His faith, His fear, His love. It binds us to the true believers of the Lutheran and Presbyterian Churches; it binds us to the pious Nonconformists of England, to the Henrys and Doddridges wherever they be; but it does not bind us—does it not even separate us—from those who 'hold not the Head' in obedience and childlike humility.

The Great Exhibition, which was opened in Hyde Park on the 1st of May in this year, and which brought so much pleasure to many, brought to Lord Ashley a considerable amount of work. The religious societies desired to make it the occasion, while so many foreigners were in the land, of pressing the claims of the Gospel in various ways, and it had by this time come to be recognised that, if anything good was to be done, Lord Ashley must have a prominent share in the doing of it.

A great many new undertakings, and developments of old ones, marked this period. For example: On November 28th, 1850, a meeting of delegates of Ragged Schools was held in Field Lane Schoolroom, Lord Ashley in the chair, to consider the means by which boys might get new employment when the "Great Exhibition of 1851" should bring thousands of foreigners to London.

Three Ragged School teachers — Messrs. John

MacGregor ("Rob Roy"), R. J. Snape, and J. R. F. Fowler, on their way home from that meeting, crossed over Holborn, arm-in-arm, when a bright thought flashed into the mind of Mr. MacGregor, who said, "Why not make some of our boys into shoeblacks for the foreigners, to employ in the streets?"

The thought at once ripened into action; ten shillings were subscribed on the spot; and the next day the plan was submitted to Lord Ashley, and obtained his hearty approval and support. By the 1st May regular "stations" were established, and, during the continuance of the Exhibition, twenty-five boys cleaned 101,000 pairs of shoes, for which the public paid £500.

The success of the scheme was ensured; from year to year improvements and extensions were made, and to-day the Shoe Black Brigade is one of the permanent institutions of the land. From first to last, Lord Shaftesbury was a staunch friend to the Brigade, and although not the originator—as we have seen—he was always regarded as one of the "Fathers" of the movement.

The story of Lord Ashley's efforts to obtain a place in the Great Exhibition for the display of the translations of the Bible made by the British and Foreign Bible Society, may be told in his own words:—

> There was a great struggle to obtain a proper place for the great works achieved by the Bible Society. There was no difficulty whatever in obtaining abundant space for all the implements of war and of human destruction that the mind of man could imagine; a large proportion of the Exhibition was taken up with guns, cannons, torpedoes, every thing that could annoy and desolate mankind. It was suggested that we should erect for the Bible Society, some place

in the great Exhibition where we could show proofs of all that we had done to the praise of God, and all we were capable of doing; some, however, said we had no right to appear before the public in any form in the Exhibition. I had a long interview with his Royal Highness the Prince Consort on the subject, and he took the view that the Bible Society had no right to a position there. I said, 'Putting aside the religious aspect of the question, I will put it before you from an intellectual point of view. I ask you whether it is not a wonderful proof of intellectual power that the Word of God has been translated into 170 distinct languages, and into 230 dialects? Is it not proof of great intellectual power that the agents of the Bible Society have given a written character to upwards of thirty distinct languages, enabling all those people to read the Word of God in their own tongue?' He said, 'You have proved your right to appear; it is a great intellectual effort, and I will do my best to secure for the Society such a position that their deeds shall be made known.' *

The result was, that a position was eventually secured, although not a good one.

Lord Ashley's views with regard to the great Exhibition were not those of the majority, although he shared in the general enthusiasm. He writes:

May 1st.—Queen opened Exhibition amidst *at least* one million of people; all, God be praised, tranquil, joyous, satisfied. Such an event could not well have occurred in any capital of Europe but ours.

May 17th.—Stole two hours to-day for the Exhibition. Sun bright, crowd immense, admiration, almost adoration, unbounded amongst them! All are carried away by the impulse; and not a few regard it as the highest of all achievements, and the proof of the perfectability of the human race. There is a strong tendency, just now, perhaps, only more developed than at any other times, to estimate the moral progress of man by his intellectual, scientific, and material advancement. The character of the future is calculated

* Speech, Bible Society (Kensington Auxiliary), March 9th, 1877.

on china-plates, steam-engines, brilliant conceptions and skilful executions. They see not that all this may consist with the hardest and vilest hearts. Except the 148 translations of the Bible, exhibited by the Society (and these the Commissioners have thrust into a remote corner), there is not one thing to distinguish a moral from a material existence, a Christian from a heathen generation. And yet we are told that this 'great fair' is to show the world's progress!

In April, just as Lord Ashley was on the point of starting for a visit to Paris, a deputation waited on him to offer him the Presidency of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He urged some reasons that he thought might disqualify him, but, eventually, on the 5th May, accepted the office. It is thus referred to in his Diary:—

May 5th.—Received a deputation this morning from the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to offer me the post of President, vacant by the death of Lord Bexley. It was headed by Harrowby, who proposed the office to me in an address of singular kindness. There were also Inglis, Acland, Lord Cholmondeley, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Foster, and the clerical Secretary, Mr. Browne. I finally accepted the offer, having referred to the consideration of the Committee the fact that I was already President of several important Societies, that I should appear a monopolist of place and power, that I might not be able to give so much time to it as could be wished. I left it, however, in their hands; and, imploring God to govern all to His will and honour, went to Paris. They maintained their invitation and waited on me to-day. I should have been grieved had circumstances prevented my elevation to that high post; it is the headship of the greatest and noblest of the Societies; and I am not indifferent either to the honour or the utility of the position! Grant me, O Lord, Thy grace, and uphold me in the work.

On the 2nd of May Lord Ashley wrote in his Diary: "I have before me those terrible 'May chairs'—always the most difficult of one's labours." The meetings during this year were, however, exceptionally good, and, owing

to the Papal aggression, were of a staunchly Protestant character. One of the most interesting was that of the Bible Society, when Lord Ashley took the chair for the first time as President. In moving a resolution that the meeting should unite in "expressing their best wishes that the blessing of God might rest upon the new President and upon his efforts in connection with this Society," the Earl of Harrowby, turning to Lord Ashley, said—

I am sure, my Lord, that you will not hold cheap the honour which has been conferred upon you. I do conceive that it is the highest honour which could be conferred on a Christian man. As it is accounted the highest honour to be an Englishman amongst the nations of the earth, so I conceive that it is the highest honour within the realm of England to be the representative of her religious principles and feelings; and I believe that there is not, within the realm of England, a man who enjoys the general approbation of his fellow-citizens more than your Lordship. In your Lordship are combined all the requisites for advancing the social interests of your fellow-countrymen in their widest ramifications; and you have pursued your course undeterred by difficulties, by opposition, by sneers; uninjured by popularity, uninfluenced by the fear of unpopularity; and, throughout, your conduct has, I am convinced, been based on the deepest personal religious convictions.

In a brief speech at the conclusion of the meeting Lord Ashley said:—

When I reflect that the honour and safety of this nation are its religious principles, and that our religious societies are the representation and reflex of those principles, I feel very deeply the honour of being called upon to preside over the greatest and best of those Societies. It is an honour to which I should not have ventured to aspire; but, having been raised to it by your voluntary suffrages, I do feel gratified, nay, more than gratified; it is heart-stirring to one

who, by the blessing of God, has attempted to do something to improve the condition of his fellow-men.

In concluding, he expressed his special pleasure in being identified with the Bible Society, on the ground

That it is catholic in its character, catholic in all its operations; that it enables us to form in these realms, in times of singular distress and difficulty, a solemn league and covenant of all those who 'love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity;' that it shows how, suppressing all minor differences, or treating them as secondary, members of the Church of England and Nonconformists may blend together in one great effort. I do thank God that this Society brings us into co-operation with our fellow-men of every nation and of every clime; that it binds us heart and soul to our American brethren—those noble specimens of the Anglo-Saxon race, in moral energy and in physical development; nay, more, that it binds together Protestants on the Continent and in the world; all, in short, who hold 'one Lord, one faith, and one baptism,' and who are prepared to maintain the great truth established at the Reformation that the Bible and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants.

The office thus entered upon, was retained to the end of Lord Shaftesbury's life. In 1885 he spoke at the annual meeting for the last time, and throughout that long period he never wavered or faltered in any step that might promote its welfare.

There were several new measures which Lord Ashley was anxious to introduce, and had for some time past been carefully preparing. It was only by the most persistent economy of time, and the complete surrender of himself to perpetual labour, that it was possible for him to do so, but he persevered. It was not in the nature of things that he could be much longer in the House of Commons; his father had entered upon his eighty-third year, and was showing signs of failing strength;

and Lord Ashley was anxious to do as much as possible of the work he had set before himself, while his opportunity lasted, and before he should, to use his own words, be "consigned to the helplessness and indolence of the House of Lords."

On April the 8th he introduced into the House of Commons a Bill to "Encourage the Establishment of Lodging-Houses for the Working Classes." In this Bill it was proposed that towns or parishes having a population of 10,000, or over, should be enabled to build Model Lodging-Houses, and raise money and defray expenses from the rates. In moving for leave to bring in the Bill, Lord Ashley drew upon his long experience, and graphically described the overcrowded state of lodging-houses both in London and in certain other large towns. Bad as was the case of those who constituted what might be termed the stationary population —many of whom herded in rooms occupied by a family in each corner and another family in the middle, to the destruction of all decency and morality, and rendering education and moral elevation impossible—the case of the migratory population, those who flitted from one lodging-house to another, was far worse, as he gave ample proof.

To one phase of his subject he drew special attention, namely, the effect produced by clearances and alterations, made with the view of beautifying the metropolis, on the housing accommodation of the working classes:—

> When the great thoroughfare of 'New Oxford Street' was opened, a great number of wretched dwellings were cleared away,

and no provision was made for the accommodation of those inhabitants who were displaced, so that, while the formation of that street added to the beauty of the town, it had the effect of exaggerating the evil that pressed on the humbler classes. There was a district in Bloomsbury called Church Lane, one of the filthiest that existed in the metropolis, and one of the most unsafe to visit, from the constant prevalence of fever. It was examined in 1848 by the Statistical Society, whose Committee stated in their report that it presented —'A picture in detail of human wretchedness, filth, and brutal degradation. In these wretched dwellings, all ages and both sexes, fathers and daughters, mothers and sons, grown-up brothers and sisters, the sick, dying, and dead, are herded together. Take an instance: House No. 2: size of room, 14 feet long, 13 feet broad, 6 feet high; rent 8s. for two rooms per week—under-rent, 3d. a night for each adult. Number of families, 3: 8 males above 20; 5 females above 20; 4 males under 20; 5 females under 20; total, 22 souls. Landlady receives 18s. a week; thus a clear profit of 10s. State of rooms, filthy.' Now, the average number of persons in each house in Church Lane was 24 in 1841; but when an examination took place in the end of 1847, the average was 40 persons to each house; and I desire particularly to direct the attention of the House to the fact that the parties who had swelled those numbers were people displaced along that line of street occupied now as New Oxford Street,—displaced in consequence of the formation and beautifying of that thoroughfare. When great improvements are in progress it is a matter for consideration whether provision ought not to be made for the accommodation of those removed, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of the community, who are exposed to peculiar danger from the confluence of many persons into places which foster typhus and cholera. Now, to give a summary of the state of the country, I may mention that the inspectors of the Board of Health have examined 161 populous places, the aggregate population being 1,912,599; and, without exception, one uniform statement has been made with respect to the domiciliary condition of large masses of the workpeople—that it is of one and the same disgusting character.

Of the benefits of model lodging-houses Lord Ashley could also speak from personal experience, and he told

the House of the cheerful punctuality with which the rents were paid; the general freedom from disease; the accommodation that made it possible for men to enjoy staying at home instead of passing their leisure hours in the beer-shops; the ample space for children to play, instead of running wild in the streets; the lower rents for comfort and cleanliness, than had previously been paid for filth and wretchedness. It was impossible, however, that private speculation could ever effect the end in view, as the temptation to make inordinate profits had always proved irresistible. Referring to the houses erected by the "Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes," he said:—

> That Society has expended £20,750 in building and fitting up new piles of model houses, and £2,250 in improving, adapting, and fitting up ranges of old dwellings, making together an expenditure of £23,000. The net return on the same, after deducting all incidental expenses, including those of management and ordinary repairs, average 6 per cent.

In concluding his speech, he urged the House to take up this matter, which had excited the interest of all civilised Europe, from parts of which, as well as from America, letters had been received, asking for plans and reports on the subject. He was certain that he spoke the truth—and a truth which would be confirmed by the testimony of all experienced persons, clergy, medical men, all who were conversant with the working classes—that, until their domiciliary condition were Christianised (he could use no less forcible a term), all hope of moral or social improvement was utterly vain.

Though not the sole, it was one of the prime sources of the evils that beset their condition; it generated disease, ruined whole families by the intemperance it promoted, cut off, or crippled, thousands in the vigour of life, and filled the workhouses with widows and orphans.*

A few days afterwards, Lord Ashley introduced a Bill for the Regulation and Inspection of Common Lodging-Houses—houses where individuals, or families, were received by the night. It was accepted without any preliminary remarks, it being generally known and acknowledged that the state of them, both morally and physically, was most pernicious.

It was when these two Bills were passing the Commons that an event occurred, not altogether unexpected, although it came suddenly at the last. It is referred to in the Diary thus:—

June 1st, Sunday.—Received at half-past five this morning intelligence of my father being dangerously ill. A train starts at nine, and I must go by it.

June 2nd.—St. Giles's. My father died this morning, at seven o'clock, having suffered no pain, but unconscious to the last. Harriet and her daughter, John, and William were present. Now I enter on a new career, one to which I am little adapted. Parliamentary business and city duties are my calling. How can I, at fifty years of age, learn other things? Land, rent, &c. &c., are as Arabic to me. But the issues of life and death are in the Lord's hand; He, therefore, has determined; and my prayer now is that He will sanctify it to me, and that, whether high or low, rich or poor, conspicuous or obscure, I may do His blessed will, serve my generation, and then fall on sleep.

June 6th, St. Giles's.—Ah, my poor father! I bless Thee, O Lord, that I was here to say 'Lord Jesus, receive his spirit,' and

* Hansard, cxv. 1258.

close his eyes. (Kissed yesterday the lips of darling Minny's bust, the bust of my precious wife in her youth and beauty, but just as beautiful to me now, though twenty years have passed.)

June 10th.—Yesterday, my poor father committed to the grave. All was simple, decent, impressive—no show, no hearse, no horses, as he desired; but there was much respect and reverence.

Cropley Ashley Cooper, sixth Earl of Shaftesbury, was the second son of the fourth earl, and was born December 21st, 1768. He was educated at Winchester, from whence he passed to Christchurch, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1787. At the general election of 1790, just after coming of age, he was elected by the town of Dorchester to be its representative in Parliament, and he held this position until his succession, in 1811, to the earldom. Soon after taking his seat in the House of Lords, he filled the office of Chairman of Committees during the temporary illness of Lord Walsingham; and he performed these duties with such marked ability, that, in November, 1814, he was permanently appointed to that office, and was sworn of the Privy Council at Carlton House.

Hansard reports but few of his utterances in the House of Lords, and yet for many years no peer's voice was heard so frequently. The duties of his office as Chairman of Committees were very considerable. The functions which, in the other House, were divided amongst the Chairman of Committees, the Speaker's Council, and the two Examiners of Petitions, were for nearly forty years ably fulfilled in the House of Lords by "old" Lord Shaftesbury, as he was generally known, although he showed no signs of age in his conduct of

pressing business. His uncompromising impartiality, joined to his strong common sense, and his thorough knowledge of the statute law, made him completely absolute in his own department. When he had once heard a case, and had deliberately given his judgment upon it, he expected, and as a rule obtained, implicit submission from all concerned. Unfortunately, as we have seen, he carried these autocratic habits into domestic life, where he was more feared than loved.

There are not many instances of an active part being taken in the business of a deliberate assembly by men above the age of seventy-five; but in the case of Lord Shaftesbury, these labours were continued beyond that of fourscore. He seemed very little less efficient in the later period of his life than in the earlier. "By the time he had reached the age of fifty—which was about half-way through the fifteen years that Lord Liverpool's Ministry held the government — Lord Shaftesbury's knowledge of his duties as Chairman to the Lords was complete, and then he appeared to settle down in life, with the air, the habits, the modes of thought and action natural to old age. He was certainly a man of undignified presence, of indistinct and hurried speech, of hasty and brusque manner; but there was a general impression that the House of Lords could not have had a more efficient Chairman. In the formal business of Committees he rarely allowed them to make a mistake, while he was prompt, as well as safe, in devising the most convenient mode of carrying any principle into practical effect. He was no theorist;

there was nothing of the speculative philosopher in the constitution of his mind; and he therefore readily gained credit for being, what he really was—an excellent man of business. In dealing with minute distinctions and mere verbal emendations, a deliberative assembly sometimes loses its way, and members sometimes ask: 'What is it we are about?' This was a question which Lord Shaftesbury usually answered with great promptitude and perspicuity, rarely failing to put the question before their lordships in an unmistakable form. Another valuable quality of Lord Shaftesbury as a Chairman, consisted in his impatience of prosy, unprofitable talk, of which, doubtless, there is comparatively little in the Upper House, but even that little he laboured to make less, by occasionally reviving attention to the exact points at issue, and sometimes, by an excusable manœuvre, shutting out opportunity for useless discussion. When he sat on the Woolsack as Speaker, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, he deported himself after the manner of Chancellors; but when he got into his proper element at the table of the House, nothing could be more rapid than his evolutions—no hesitation, no dubiety; nor would he allow any one else to pause or doubt. Often has he been heard to say, in no very gentle tones: 'Give me that clause *now*,' 'That's enough,' 'It will do very well as it is,' 'If you have anything further to propose, move it at once,' 'Get through the Bill now, and bring that up on the third reading.' He always made their lordships feel that come what might, it was their duty to 'get

through the Bill;' and so expeditious was the old Earl, that he would get out of the chair, bring up his Report, and move the House into another Committee, in the short time that sufficed for the Chancellor to transfer himself from the Woolsack to the Treasury Bench and back again."*

During the later years of his life, and especially during the prevalence of the great railway mania of 1844—46, the labours of Lord Shaftesbury in connection with railways were enormous. He materially aided in reducing to a system, the laws and regulations of the House of Lords on this important subject. It was generally allowed that the speed with which he passed unopposed Bills through Committee, was something marvellous. On questions of parliamentary law and usage his authority was unquestioned.

The Earl was nearly eighty-three years of age when, at the opening of the Session of Parliament in February, 1851, the Marquis of Lansdowne informed their Lordships that he had received a communication from their Chairman of Committee stating that "from his age and infirmities he felt himself unable to continue the duties of the office." Lord Stanley, the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Harrowby, and others, bore testimony to his ability and unswerving integrity and firmness, and the Duke of Richmond, in alluding to his well-known characteristics, said: "I have seen attempts to influence Lord Shaftesbury in matters relating to private Bills, and he invariably followed what was a

* "Annual Register, 1851," p. 292.

very good plan, for he answered, 'I shall do no such thing.' He kept the attorneys and agents in very good order, for, when they once got a good dressing from Lord Shaftesbury, they never made any such attempts again."*

"And now," wrote Lord Ashley, on the day of his father's funeral, "I bear a new name, which I did not covet; and enter on a new career, which may God guide and sanctify. If I can by His grace make the new as favourably known as the old name, and attain under it but to the fringes of His honour and the welfare of mankind, I shall indeed have much to be thankful for."

What had been achieved under that old name cannot possibly be better told than in his own words, written during the preceding Christmas-tide, and certainly no more appropriate words could be found with which to close the story of this part of his career:—

Dec. 25th.—Christmas Day. Broadlands. It would be curious to take an impartial review, if I could, of what I have gained, by many years of toil, for myself, for the public, and, may I say it? for the cause of our blessed Master.

I.—What have I gained *for the public?* that is, according to my own estimation, for many will say, in the language of Scripture, that my doings have only 'gained them a harm and loss.'

1. Seventeen years of labour and anxiety obtained the Lunacy Bill in 1845, and five years' increased labour since that time have carried it into operation. It has effected, I know, prodigious relief, has forced the construction of many public asylums, and greatly multiplied inspection and care. Much, alas! remains to be done, and much will remain; and that much will, in the estimation of

* Hansard, 3 s., cxiv. 47.

the public, who know little and inquire less, overwhelm the good, the mighty good that has been the fruit.

2. Seventeen years, from 1833 to 1850, obtained the Factory Bill. The labour of three hundred thousand persons, male and female, has been reduced within reasonable limits, and full forty thousand children under 13 years of age, attend school for three hours every day! Let the people themselves, let the reports of the Inspectors, let the records of bygone days, be heard against the contempt, the misrepresentation, the ignorance, the hatred of those who opposed or discouraged me.

3. A Commission moved for in 1841 reported in 1842, and in 1843 passed a Bill to forbid labour of females in Mines and Collieries. No one can deny the blessed results of this measure; my persecutors, therefore, admitting the good, attack the principle, and question the wisdom of obtaining happy ends by such means.

4. In 1845 passed Bill to regulate and limit labour of children and women in Print-works. Cobden even supported me here. Necessarily an imperfect measure, but yet productive of some good.

5. Had main share (though the honour went to another) in preparation of Interment Bill, and carrying it through the House.

6. Address and grant of Royal Commission for Subdivison of large Parishes. Result yet to be tried.

7. Two years of *intense labour*, without pay, on Board of Health, specially in season of cholera, and lately on Water-Supply to Metropolis.

8. Say nothing, perhaps, of failures, though they were intended for public service, and received some approbation:—Motions on Opium Trade, Education, Poor-laws, and Sunday Post-office; nor of share taken in general debates on subjects of vital interest.

9. This for Parliament. Out of it have spared no trouble nor expense (and both have been excessive) for Ragged Schools, Model Lodging-houses, Malta College, Emigration Committees, and meetings by day and by night on every imaginable subject.

II.—What gained for the cause of our blessed Master? Whatever little, if any, has been achieved, it has been by God's own grace. To Him then be all the glory!

Perhaps we may rejoice in an awakened attention, though but partially so, to the wants and rights of the poor; to the powers and duties of the rich; perhaps, both in Parliament and out of it, in a

freer, safer use of religious sentiment and expression ; perhaps in an increased effort for spiritual things, and in greatly increased opportunities for doing and receiving good. This, alas ! is not the thing itself, but only the means to it. It is, nevertheless, all that we can boast of.

III.—What gained for myself ?

1. Peace of mind, but nothing else. Four objects may be said to stir the action of public men, singly or combined ; money, power, fame, desire to do good. As for the first, I had, when young, three years of office from 1828 to 1830, and then three months from January to April, in 1835 ; the rest of my time has won me nothing, but has, rather, been sadly expensive to me. Declined, in succession, several offices, that I might be free for Factory Bill.

2. Power and patronage. Confess I should have desired both, believing (but how terrible and deep is self-deception !) that I should have, through faith and prayer, exercised power well, and patronage to the welfare of important interests and to the honour and comfort of good men. But have obtained neither ; *have never* held any post in which I could act on my own authority ; nor ever have I had the disposal of a single place, either ecclesiastical or civil.

3. Influence and fame. 'Your influence,' 'Your commanding influence,' &c. &c., I am constantly hearing, but never experiencing. In a long public life I have obtained three cadetships and one surgeon's appointment for the sons of deserving men ; one living from Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst and a Commissionship in Lunacy from Lord Chancellor Cottenham, for persons of unrivalled public merits ; one, too, from Lord Carlisle for an admirable minister. Is my influence with the Government ? What do I avail, and what is their treatment of me ? Is it with the Peel party ? I lost my political connection with them when I refused office and urged the Factory Bill. Is it with the Protectionists ? I lost them when I supported the repeal of the Corn Laws. Is it with the manufacturers ? They hate me for the Ten Hours Act. Is it with the operatives ? They forget all my labour of love in the middle course I took for their welfare. I won for them *almost* everything ; but for the loss of that very little, they regard me as an enemy ! Is it with the Commons House of Parliament ? Whatever I had is gone : I had once the ear of the assembly ; I have it no more. Is it with the bishops ? the High Church, the Tractarians ? Is it with the Low Church ? So it is said,

but I ask the proof of it. Is it with the Press? Nearly every paper is hostile; I have had my day of favour; now I suffer the reverse. They began by reviling me, they now *ignore* me, as the phrase goes. Is it a power to raise money for charitable purposes? Why, Sidney Herbert raised, in three months, nearly as much as I have raised in my whole life. Is it with private individuals? Why, *who attends* to what I do, say, or think? except to mark it for cavil or reproof. Is it with my friends? Alas, how few can be trusted in the hour of trial! My curious career, too, makes me, every day, new enemies, and oftentimes alters my old friends! Is it with the rich? God knoweth. Is it with the poor? Yes, so far as a few shouts go, but no further! This is my position after twenty years of labour! I began in the hope that many of the aristocracy would first follow and then succeed me. Not one is to be found; a few, at my request, put their hands to the plough, but they looked back and return not to the furrows.

Then how stands my *fame?* Well, if I had rested on this, I should 'have been, indeed, unblessed.' What I have is *notoriety*, not reputation. I have a name that everybody knows, 'a household word,' writes the American Minister, Mr. Lawrence, to me, 'from New York to the Rocky Mountains;' but a name that every one fires at! Some dispute my judgment, some my sincerity, some my courage; some think, or profess to think, me unworthy of their notice; some call me 'well-intentioned but weak;' others, 'hypocritical and canting;' some hold me to be ruled entirely by vanity, others consider me a mere tool. Now and then I make a speech which produces an effect, and I get some praise; but the speech is soon forgotten, and the man only remembered to be treated as before. A few, no doubt, think of me, and speak of me, kindly; but they are rare and of small influence in the stirring world. I have been oddly and antagonistically viewed: Sir J. Graham, when Secretary of State, alluding to the Factory Bill, said, 'I was a man to make a Revolution' (this will be remembered). Sir G. Grey, when Secretary of State, said to me in 1848, alluding also to the Factory Bill, 'I shall be ready to say, in my place in Parliament, or elsewhere, as Secretary of State, that the passing of the Ten Hours Bill has kept those vast counties at peace during this eventful period.' (This will be forgotten; nay, has, I think, been already forgotten.) But notorious men are good for chairs of dinners and meetings. People come, not

through affection and respect, but to see the notorious man ; and so I serve their purpose.

4. *Desire to do good for good's sake.* Whatever my weaknesses, whatever the human admixture with my former hopes and fears, this must, henceforward, be my sole sustaining motive. I am now nearly fifty years of age ; my physical and moral powers have attained their summit. I cannot go higher, but I may fall lower. And what is man's judgment? Does it not often determine that to be 'gold, silver, and precious stones,' which God's judgment pronounces 'wood, hay, stubble'? All see my infirmities ; all, knowing human corruption, infer more than they see, and they are right. All use me, and all grow tired of me ; but few can know the troubles I have endured—the sorrow of mind, the weariness of body ; the labour I have undergone by day and by night ; the public and private conflicts ; the prayers I have offered, and the tears I have shed. Here, however, is my consolation, that, amidst frailties and sins, trespasses and shortcomings, I have had one single object perpetually before me. It was God's grace that gave me the thought ; God's grace that has sustained me hitherto, to have, in truth, but one end, the advancement of His ever-blessed name, and the temporal and eternal welfare of all mankind. So closes my review. *Sursum corda !*

CHAPTER XX.

1851 (JUNE)—1852.

Farewell to House of Commons—In the House of Lords—Speech on Common Lodging-House Bill—Model Lodging-House Bill—Early Impressions of House of Lords—First Acts of Power—St. Giles's—Sweeping Reforms—The Truck System—Cottage Accommodation—Kossuth—Socialism—Letter to Lord John Russell—Thomas Wright the Prison Philanthropist—A *Coup d'état*—The Militia Bill—Brook Street, Grosvenor Square—A Lunacy Case—May Meetings—At Ems—America and France—Death of the Duke of Wellington—Chancellorship of Oxford—Lying in State—The Story of the Madiai—An Amusing Letter—"Uncle Tom's Cabin"—Slavery—Address from Women of England—The Fugitive Slave Law—Friendships—The Rev. E. Bickersteth—Mr. Alexander Haldane—Revival of Convocation—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Auricular Confession—Resignation of Lord Derby—Lord Aberdeen, Premier.

SOME time before the death of his father, Lord Shaftesbury had determined not to take his seat in the House of Lords. But, to use his own expression, "The leading of Providence was the other way." His two Lodging-House Bills would soon pass the Commons, and it was urged upon him by many friends, and especially by Lord Harrowby, that there would be both grace and right in his taking them up and piloting them through the House of Lords. In view of it he wrote :—

> But what an operation to sit as a Peer! The Chancellor demands no end of documents; and, over and above (what folly when one's father had been recognised for forty years), an extract from the Patent of Peerage! Sutcliffe stands for my place at Bath; how I pray God that he may succeed!

It is needless to say that there were expressions of sorrow from many quarters that "Lord Ashley" had left the House of Commons; and from many, of belief that he would be equally useful in the House of Lords.

In moving the writ for Bath, Sir Robert Inglis took occasion to speak of him in terms of respect and affection. "I believe that I speak the sentiments of the House generally," he remarked, "when I say that Lord Ashley should not be withdrawn from the first ranks of this assembly, the scene of his labours and his triumphs, without some parting expression of respect and regret. During the last fifteen years of Lord Ashley's Parliamentary life he has been emphatically the friend of the friendless. Every form of human suffering he has, in his place in this House, and especially every suffering connected with labour, sought to lighten, and in every way to ameliorate the moral, social, and religious condition of our fellow-subjects; and out of this House his exertions have been such as, at first sight, might have seemed incompatible with his duties here. But he found time for all; and when absent from his place on these benches, he was enjoying no luxurious ease, but was seated in the chair of a Ragged-school meeting, of a Scripture-reader's Association, or of a Young Man's Christian Institution. I will add no more than that the life of Lord Ashley, in and out of this House, has been consecrated, in the memorable inscription of the great Haller, 'Christo in pauperibus.'"

On the 23rd of June Lord Shaftesbury took his seat

in the House of Lords, and on the evening of that day he wrote in his Diary :—

> It seems no place for me; a 'Statue-gallery,' some say a 'Dormitory.' Full half-a dozen Peers said to me, within as many minutes, 'You'll find this very different from the House of Commons,' 'we have no order,' 'no rules,' 'no sympathies to be stirred.' Shall I ever be able *to do anything?* They are cold, short, and impatient. But God has willed it, and I must, and, by His grace, *will*, do my duty.

The following day he made his first speech in the House of Lords on moving the second reading of the Bill for the "Inspection and Registration of Lodging-Houses." He spoke in a low tone of voice and with great brevity, and took occasion to explain that it was the deep interest he felt in the objects of this Bill, and the urgency there was for legislation on the subject, "that had induced him to address their lordships so early after his call to their lordships' House." In the course of the very brief debate that ensued, the Marquis of Lansdowne, in supporting the motion, "complimented the noble Earl upon the success of his exertions to ameliorate the condition of the poor and destitute," * and expressed a hope that he might pursue, in the House of Lords, the career he had followed in the House of Commons.

The Bill became law. It has been acted upon throughout the Kingdom, and police authorities, magistrates, medical men, city missionaries, and all whom it concerned, have been unanimous in their testimony as to its beneficial results. "It is the best law," said

* Hansard's Debates, cxvii. 1140.

Charles Dickens to Lord Shaftesbury, some years afterwards, "that was ever passed by an English Parliament."

The second measure—the Bill for "Permitting the erection by local authorities of Model Lodging-Houses"—came before the Lords for the second reading on July the 8th, when Lord Shaftesbury, in the course of his speech, gave many details of a similar character to those he had given before the other House, and asserted that "the concurrent testimony of all persons conversant with the habits of the people, went to show that the improvement of their domiciliary condition reversed all those frightful pictures which he had felt it his duty to present to their lordships." *

This Bill also became law, but from various causes, and principally because it was much mutilated in its passage through the House of Commons, it was only to a very limited extent put into practice, and ultimately became a dead letter.

Lord Shaftesbury has recorded, in full, his early impressions of the House of Lords, some of which are given in the following extracts. Referring to the much reiterated hope that he would continue in the Upper House, the course he had followed in the House of Commons, he says :—

June 25th.—It is, however, a totally different thing—far less stirring, far less gratifying. Success here, is but a shadow of success there; little can be gained, little attempted. But God has now placed me here, and I must, and do, pray that 'as my day, so

* Hansard's Debates, cxvii. 235.

may my strength be.' . . . One of the most striking effects to me on removal from the House of Commons is my absolute ignorance of the political movements, thoughts, and facts of the day. Everything of importance revolves round the centre of the Commons' House: unless you be there to see it, hear it, feel it, you get it at second hand, and then only half.

June 27th.—The difficulties of the House of Lords seem to thicken as I survey them. Everything must be done between five and half-past six, or you will have no auditory; consequently there is an unseemly scramble for the precedence, and a terrible impatience after you have got it. Yet I have received many expressions, and heard of more, that I 'should rouse them,' and 'give them business to do,' and in some measure 'popularise' the House! . . . Several, nay, abundant, regrets, stated to me personally, and recorded to me by others, that I was removed from the House of Commons.

June 30th.—To House of Lords, where I broke cover in a bit of humanity-mongering about Chimney-sweepers. Found my voice; was well received; 'thanked God, and took courage.'

July 8th.—Opened this afternoon, in House of Lords, second Lodging-House Bill. Wonderfully well received; their noble natures even cheered during the speech and after it. Many congratulations and thanks. My surprise knew no bounds. I had warmed 'Nova Zembla.'

Many times during his first Session, the voice of Lord Shaftesbury was heard in the House of Lords. On the 17th July he made an important speech on the Bill for admitting Jews into Parliament, which Bill was rejected by a majority of 36; and on three occasions he pleaded the cause of the wretched Chimney-sweepers, whose condition was growing worse and worse, but whose sufferings were regarded in almost all quarters with surprising indifference.

On the 8th of August Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person.

August 8th.—Day fine; everything gay and good-humoured. Attended as a peer, and enraptured the Chancellor and law lords by wearing the robes of the first Lord Shaftesbury.

Having seen how Lord Shaftesbury entered upon his public duties on succeeding to the peerage, we will now follow him into the privacy of his inherited estates, to mark the spirit in which he faced the responsibilities of his new position.

A few days after the burial of his father, the following characteristic entry occurs in the Diary :—

June 16th.—St. Giles's. I am thankful, very thankful, that my two first acts of power have been in the service of God. I have limited the disorders of the tap-room here, by closing it at nine o'clock every night—'*his brevibus principiis*,' &c.—and I have provided for the appointment of a Scripture-reader.

An examination into the state of affairs at St. Giles's soon convinced him that there were many radical changes to make without delay. There had been incredible waste: large sums of money had been ruthlessly lavished and thrown away, to no purpose of either use or luxury, while many things really necessary had been totally neglected. Without losing heart for a moment, he resolutely set to work to face the difficulties that lay before him, determined to right all that had gone wrong, and to establish more firmly all that was good. As will be seen in the course of the narrative, the circumstances in which he was placed were of no ordinary kind; but, although the obstacles to be overcome, and the difficulties to be vanquished, would have made any one less resolute quail before them, by degrees he

quietly and steadily accomplished the task he had set himself.

It is worthy of note that, full as the Diaries are of details of the actual position of affairs, there is not one word that reflects in any way upon the memory of his father. On the contrary, scattered throughout the pages, there are many touching passages—of which the following is an example—to show that the only thoughts of him were thoughts of tenderness and filial regard :—

June 29th.—Sunday. My poor father lay for six-and-thirty hours after his attack, perfectly unconscious; free from suffering, alive, but apparently, and I doubt not, really, insensible to all around him. All these cases are mysterious. What was the state of the soul during that period? Was it asleep? Was it benumbed like the body, or was it active and cognisant of eternal things? Here may have been God's chosen time for the infusion of His grace. Here may have been the hour, so to speak, of regeneration. Prayer was permitted, and then, surely, faith also in the results of prayer. 'Lord Jesus, receive his spirit,' was no idle supplication, or tossed, of necessity, into empty air.

It is also worthy of note that the plans Lord Shaftesbury now devised, and the changes he intended to effect, were not for the adornment of his own house, or for personal gratification of any kind, but on behalf of the labourers on the estate and in the neighbourhood, and of those who hitherto had not enjoyed the benefits which he considered they had a right to expect.

August 17th.—Sunday. Week passed in depths of abundant, dusty, and useless papers. Gave three hours on Thursday to Commission in Lunacy. Every other moment till seven o'clock, saving half an hour for a ride, to this wonderful 'digging'—old newspapers,

bills, formal letters from 1790, &c., &c., under a mass of dirt and dust deep enough for a crop of mustard and cress. When I lay down at night, the tearing, reading, burning, came on me like the after-effects of a sea-voyage, and made me sleepless.

August 22nd.—St. Giles's. Inspected a few cottages—filthy, close, indecent, unwholesome. But what can I do? I am half pauperised; the debts are endless; no money is payable for a whole year, and I am not a young man. Every sixpence I expend—and spend I must on many things—*is borrowed!*

August 25th.—Car * has offered to build me four cottages in the village. Heartily do I give God thanks for this, who has put it into her heart. The world will now, at least, see our good intentions; and that is of high importance where, like me, a party has been a great professor.

Sept. 5th.—Have found, at last, a Scripture-reader for the forests and steppes of Woodlands and Horton. May his services be blessed to the honour and empire of our dearest Lord! I rejoice with trembling that I have been permitted thus far to prosper in this affair.

Sept. 6th.—Shocking state of cottages; stuffed like figs in a drum. Were not the people as cleanly as they *can be*, we should have had an epidemic. Must build others, cost what it may.

Sept. 13th.—Yesterday to Pentridge, Cobley, and Woodyates. No *school* of any kind at Pentridge; some forty or fifty children 'unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.' I determined, under God, to build one, and may He prosper the work! To-day to Woodlands, Horton, and Verwood, to prepare the ground for Scripture-reader, and secure his acceptance by the farmers.

Sept. 15th.—To Hinton Martel. Rural and lovely scenery; but what a cottage—what a domicile for men and Christians I found in that village! Yet, what can I do? And the management of the estate, too, has in great measure passed from me by the grants of these small life-holds.

Oct. 3rd.—Visited some cottages—thank God, not mine! What griping, grasping, avaricious cruelty. These petty proprietors exact a five-fold rent for a thing in five-fold inferior condition! It is always so with these small holders. Every thing—even the misery

* His sister, Lady Caroline Neeld.

of their fellows—must be turned to profit. Oh, if instead of one hundred thousand pounds to pay in debt, I had that sum to expend, what good I might do! But it has pleased God otherwise.

Having carefully examined into the state of things, and made himself master of the facts, Lord Shaftesbury lost no time in inaugurating some sweeping reforms. These were not easy to carry out, and were opposed in some cases by deep-rooted prejudices.

He found that the truck-system, which he had condemned so unsparingly in his Factory legislation, was flourishing on his own estate, and he determined to put a stop to it forthwith. He knew of its existence ten years before, but then he was tongue-tied; now, he could denounce the abominable system as he pleased. He discovered that certain farmers were grievously defrauding the workpeople, paying them, in kind, at the rate of £10 a load for wheat when the market price was only £8! To these men he said, "I am master here; I will not allow the poor to be oppressed. You shall pay in money or quit your farm!" It was a bold step, for, in the state of his finances, a vacant farm was an important consideration, and, as a matter of fact, some were thrown on his hands; but he had counted the cost, and he persevered until he had abolished the system.

Another mischief—and one that confirmed him in the belief that farmers of the old class were ignorant, selfish, and tyrannical, and that the repeal of the Corn Laws was indispensably necessary to save the agriculture of the realm—was, that many of the farms were shamefully undercultivated, and, consequently, not half

the proper number of labourers were employed. Yet the tenants were well-to-do, for, inasmuch as the land was underlet in value, they made a profit with little trouble. But they turned their men heartlessly out of work, and bade them "Go to the great house" (meaning his own) if they wanted a job.

Nothing gave Lord Shaftesbury so much anxiety as the want of proper cottage accommodation. "Surely I am the most perplexed of men," he wrote. "I have passed my life in rating others for allowing rotten houses and immoral, unhealthy dwellings; and now I come into an estate rife with abominations! Why, there are things here to make one's flesh creep; and I have not a farthing to set them right."

On one thing he was firmly resolved, namely, that he would not spend any money upon his own house until he had effected some improvement in the cottages, nor until he had cared for the village House of God, which had suffered sadly from neglect.

Meantime, he was harassed by correspondents who assumed that he was rich, and who "wrote in all the fervour of meritorious need as to one blessed by God with abundant wealth." It was painful to him to say "No" to their appeals; it was impossible that he could explain that fresh liabilities were arising on all sides, absorbing every farthing yielded by the estates, and that expenses innumerable, taxes and labour, had to be met out of borrowed money. There was only one course open to him, and that was to quit St. Giles's for the present.

This step was taken towards the close of January in 1852, a little more than six months after his father's death. But the improvements he had effected during that time were a pledge and a prophecy of what would yet be done, as he had opportunity. In that short period, in addition to the plans he had proposed for cottage accommodation, he had appointed a Scripture-reader for Horton, undertaken a school at Pentridge, projected one at Hinton Martel, and one at Woodlands. The parish church at St. Giles's, he thoroughly restored and redecorated, and made it "look like a church, and cease to wear the appearance of an old ball-room." In addition to these things, he had inaugurated the system of giving the audit dinners to the tenants at his own house, instead of at an inn, being convinced that it was "more hospitable and friendly, and an excellent mode of preventing excess." He had, moreover, planned a series of rewards for garden-allotments; a society to encourage labourers on the estate; evening classes for young men; and cricket clubs, for the summer, for all the cottagers, the matches to be played in the park.

Then came the day when, for the present, he must leave this new field of activity, and he notes it in his Diary thus:—

> Jan. 27th, 1852.—This day I prepare to leave 'the Saint' * for a long time, perhaps for ever! The issue is the Lord's; 'let Him do,' so said old Eli, 'as it seemeth Him good'! I do love and cherish the spot, and pray that God will lift up the light of His countenance upon it, and all its people! . . .

Notwithstanding the heavy demands made upon his

* Lord Shaftesbury's familiar way of naming St. Giles's.

time throughout the period to which we have been referring, the Diary was not allowed to suffer, and a few extracts, upon general subjects, may be given here:—

September 19th, 1851.—California has led the way; Australia follows—*auri sacra fames.* What no motive, human or divine, could effect, springs into life at the display of a few pellets of gold in the hand of a wanderer. . . . This may be God's chosen way to force the world to fulfil his commandment and 'replenish the earth.' It brought existence to California.

October 29th.—Windsor Castle. Kossuth, the Hungarian, has entered Southampton in triumph, proceeded to Winchester in glory, to the house of 'Lord Andrewes,' the mayor, and is hanging on the skirts of London, ready for a descent. This vagabond is treated as though he were the 'Deus Optimus Maximus.' Our Lord would have but a poor reception compared with his! Many who attend him are designing persons, looking either to electioneering purposes or to revolution; many, in their simplicity, believe that they are upholding 'constitutional' government, and that 'three times three' for Kossuth means 'three times three' for Queen, Lords, and Commons! His address to the people of Marseilles—fierce, democratic, infidel—should have undeceived *them*, and certainly *Palmerston*, who, we fear, intends to 'receive' him and his crew.

The action of Lord Palmerston with regard to Kossuth, whose mission was to engage in a fierce political agitation, was not regarded favourably by the Prime Minister. Had Kossuth come merely to thank the English Government for what had been done in his behalf, no objection could have been taken to his being received by Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, for that purpose; but, seeing that the real object of his visit was to agitate against Austria and Russia—sovereigns in alliance with England—the Prime Minister requested that no official reception of any kind what-

ever should be given. At first Lord Palmerston declined to act in accordance with this request; but a Cabinet Council having been summoned to consider the question, he deferred to the opinion of his colleagues.

In the following December, Lord Palmerston retired from the Ministry, and the Kossuth incident had an important bearing upon this step.

Popular demonstrations were held in honour of the Hungarian exile, and were continued until the 28th of November, when he sailed for America. The Corporation of London presented him with an address on his arrival, when the whole route from Eaton Square to the Guildhall was lined by immense crowds of enthusiasts. On the following day he was presented with an address from "republicans, revolutionists, and socialists—men, consequently, not attracted towards him by either the *éclat* of his title or the renown of his name." In Birmingham and Manchester, he was welcomed by enormous multitudes; and addresses were forwarded to him from almost every large town in the kingdom.

One effect of these demonstrations was to stir up the revolutionary spirit of the country; and it was, in some measure, apropos of this, that Lord Shaftesbury wrote the following letter to the Prime Minister:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord John Russell.

Nov. 15, 1851.

MY DEAR RUSSELL,—Socialist doctrines and principles are far more rife in the great towns of this country than most people are aware of. They are found principally among the artisans and

skilled workmen, and specially in the metropolis. These parties aim at a distribution of all the property of those above them, and calculate on measures to prevent, in the future, all accumulations of wealth in single hands. They do not, I think, look much to physical force; they rely chiefly on the extension of the suffrage. These are the facts; it is not necessary, at this time, to examine the causes.

The land is their first object. All the circumstances of landed property strike the eye; and many, who are not disposed to go so far as the Socialist party, urge them on to this extent, because they know that a revolution in the tenure, or descent, of landed property must speedily extinguish the House of Lords.

If an extension of the suffrage be inevitable, and an extension, too, by lowering the present qualification, surely it would be both just, and a means of security, to extend it also in another direction, so as to give many persons of position and property rights and privileges they have not possessed before.

There can be no reason why the suffrage should be limited, in these days, to the occupation of a house, or the tenure of a piece of ground. Moneyed persons, fundholders, annuitants, &c., have just as deep an interest in the welfare of the country as all the other classes, and yet many of them are shut out.

Property and order would be greatly strengthened, and a counterpoise found to the lowered suffrage, by admitting to the right of voting all lawyers in virtue of their chambers; all annuitants at or above £50—so that their annuities be for life; all holders of mortgages: every holder in the funds, and *many such.*

The fundholder has an especial right, for he is the object of special attack; and this, too, would give a large number, for the great proportion are holders of from £5 to £10 annually. The holder should have a vote for the place where he resides, inasmuch as the funds, being the result of general taxation, must be considered as arising from all parts of the country, and from all sources.

There are three propositions of special danger: the ballot, electoral districts, and shortening the duration of parliaments. I know not how the country could stand the whole of them.

The number of persons desirous of 'Reform' is much less than it was in 1830, but then the number of persons, idle or indifferent as to opposition to it, is far greater. The resistance, such as it is, is not grounded, as before, on an attachment to the old forms of the Con-

stitution, and the preservation, in all their integrity, of the three Estates; it rests mainly on fears of peril to property; very many people would now acquiesce at once in any form of government which promised them the greatest amount, and the longest period, of personal enjoyment.

This country could endure something approximating to Universal Suffrage much better than it could any one of the three propositions stated above. Universal Suffrage is formidable, not more from the numbers who vote, than from the numbers who do not. If every one holding the suffrage were sure to exercise it, there would be some hope of safety; but the operation of it is to keep off the quiet and orderly, and surrender the field to the agitating and noisy.

One reform is indispensably necessary, and that reform one for which we do not require the intervention of the House of Commons; I mean a reform of the system of business in the House of Lords. Clearly, unless something be speedily done, the House of Lords will, by losing all effective share in the legislation, lose all the esteem and support of the country. The fault, no doubt, is partly their own, but it is, in far greater part, the fault of successive Governments, who have not proposed to the House of Commons sufficient relaxations of nonsensical etiquette in matters of money, and who, instead of introducing many important measures in the Upper House, crowd them in a body on the Peers for hasty and inconsiderate enactment at the close of a Session.

Some Ministers, I know, will reply that 'an active House of Lords is a great evil.' Well, but surely, no House of Lords at all (and such will soon be the alternative) is a 'greater evil.' This remark, too, is founded on an experience of the House of Lords in former days—the present days exhibit the House in a very different light; it retains great powers, if stirred up and rightly directed, for social improvement, but, though it stands well in the affections of the country, it has lost all power for political action on the rise and fall of Administrations.

I have sent a few notes by a friend of mine—pray look at them attentively, and then send them back to me.

You have a fearful business before you. At one time I am inclined to say with Hannibal '*agnosco fortunam Carthaginis*;' at another, to quote from Scripture, 'Return unto *Me* and I will return

unto *you.*' We have shown the dawnings of a return; God grant that they may issue in the perfect day!

I wish you well,

Yours truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

To this Lord John Russell sent, as was his wont, a brief reply:—

Lord John Russell to Lord Shaftesbury.

PEMBROKE LODGE, Nov. 22, 1851.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—Many thanks for your letter on Reform, in which, generally speaking, I agree. Your correspondent goes further than I should be prepared to do in the way of disfranchisement. . . . I send you in return the sketch of a letter I propose to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Pray let me know whether you find any mistakes in it.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

There was probably no man whose circle of friends and acquaintances was wider than Lord Shaftesbury's, and certainly none whose circle included greater variety in social position, influence, and attainment than his. He was intimate with his fellow Peers and the highest in the land; he was intimate with the humblest and lowliest of working men. It made no difference to him what a man was in the eye of society or of the world, if he saw in him one who possessed those qualities upon which true friendships alone can rest. He esteemed a man first for what he was in himself, and next, for what he was doing for the world to make it brighter and happier and holier. Hence it was that among those

he loved and "delighted to honour" were men who were engaged in every branch of Christian work, by whom he felt proud to be known as a "fellow-labourer."

Among these was Thomas Wright, the prison philanthropist. How it came to pass that the acquaintanceship, which ripened into friendship, began, was told by Lord Shaftesbury to a gathering of young men, when warning them against false pride and exhorting them not to be ashamed of their trades. He said :—

> Many of you must have heard of a remarkable man of the name of Thomas Wright of Manchester. He visited prisons. He was engaged all day long in a small establishment acting as foreman, covered with oil and grease and everything else. The first time I ever saw Thomas Wright was at Manchester. I was staying with my friend, the great engineer, Mr. Fairbairn. He said to me : 'You have heard of Thomas Wright ; would you like to meet him?' I said 'Of course I should, beyond anything.' 'Well, then, we shall have him to dinner.' So we asked him to dinner ; we three together. In came Thomas Wright, and had I not known who he was, I should have said he was the most venerable doctor of divinity I ever looked upon. His hair was white ; his expression was fascinating ; he was dressed in black. We passed the evening and then we went to church. Two or three days afterwards, we said we would go and see Thomas Wright. We knocked at the office door, and a man, in a paper cap and an apron and covered with grease, opened it. I passed in and I said, 'I want to see Thomas Wright.' 'I dare say you do,' he said, 'here I am.' Then I said, 'Bless you, my good fellow ; never was I so impressed in my life before, as I am now with the true dignity of labour.' There was that man, covered with grease and wearing his paper cap. When his work was over, he doffed his cap, washed his face, put on his black clothes and away he went to prison, to carry life and light and the Gospel of Christ to many broken and anxious hearts.*

* Speech before Y. M. C. A., Glasgow, Oct., 1877.

The same interview is thus noted in the Diary:—

Nov. 24.—Manchester. Yesterday that good man Wright, of Chorlton-on-Medlock, the visitor and comforter of prisoners in every jail to which he has access, dined with us alone, and we had some excellent talk. This man is a marvel. He is a workman at wages. His white hair, decent dress, and noble, affectionate countenance, give him the air of a primitive bishop. What a standard for the great of this earth to measure themselves by!

Some of the entries towards the close of the year are as follows:—

Dec. 4th.—Oxford. Yesterday the world was startled by a new French Revolution. Louis Napoleon, stating that he was only acting in self-defence, that he was only executing against his enemies what they had planned against him, indulged in a *coup d'état*. He dissolved the Assembly (no such power by law), arrested the Deputies and all the Military Chiefs, proclaimed universal suffrage, suggested a new Constitution, with *two* Chambers instead of *one* (a lesson to our reformers), and appealed to the sovereignty of the people!

Here is a fact, so sudden and so extensive that it defies immediate reflection. He is acting clearly on the precedent of his uncle in 1804; but Napoleon had the *prestige* of a great conqueror; and the nation had hopes that he would still be a great conqueror, and so all acquiesced.

Dec. 8th.—*The Saint.* I protest against universal suffrage on many grounds; on none more than this, that it has never been found consistent with general freedom. Wherever it has prevailed, it has established the freedom, nay, licence, of the majority; and the restraint, nay, thraldom, of the minority. Was social, civil, and religious liberty of the whole, known in the ancient Republic of Greece? Does not De Tocqueville show the tyranny of the people in the United States? Has universal suffrage emancipated four millions of negroes? Has it secured in France political independence and social peace?

Christmas Day.—Day sadly distracted by intelligence of yesterday. Palmerston has quitted office and Granville is appointed in his place. Palmerston, with all his faults, was an English Minister, a man who desired civil and religious liberty for others as for himself.

Parliament was opened on the 3rd of February following, when Lord John Russell explained the circumstances connected with the resignation of the Foreign Office by Lord Palmerston, to which we have already alluded, and the ex-Secretary defended his action in a vigorous speech. Into the merits of the misunderstanding it is not necessary that we should enter.

Events in France were causing considerable uneasiness at this time, not in England only, but throughout the Continent, and, in view of the unsettled state of Europe, the country was thrown into agitation with regard to the inadequacy of the national defences, and the Government resolved to bring before Parliament a scheme for the re-establishment of the militia. On the 16th of February Lord John Russell explained the scope and purpose of the Bill, and on the 26th, while it was yet in a preliminary stage, the Government was defeated, as shown in the following entry. Lord Derby,* the recognised leader of the Tory party, was called upon to form a Government:—

Feb. 20th.—Quarter-past eleven at night. Just heard that Government is out; beaten by a small majority on an amendment moved by Palmerston, to convert the 'local' into a 'general' militia. It is strange to me to be shut out of the medley. The House of Lords is a sad place for news of the events; get all at second-hand, and dealt out sparingly. Many things now occur, as old Latimer says, 'to cut off my comb.' Palmerston had fallen; everyone had deserted him; he was left alone. He gains a victory over the Minister who announces his resignation. Palmerston's house (I am just come from it, half-past eleven at night) is overwhelmed with company; one would think that he had saved an empire, or that he was mounting a throne!

* Lord Stanley succeeded to the title in June, 1851.

A wonderful Nemesis! John kicks out Palmerston and Palmerston, after a short interval, kicks out him. He rejoices, they say, in the result, though he was furious and humbled at the mode, because he feared both the Caffre Debate and the Reform Bill!

Feb. 28th.—Called on Derby, and, afterwards, on Walpole, to urge them, as they valued the peace of the country, to a specific and open declaration, immediately on the meeting of the Houses, of their intention to ask no more than the necessary votes, and then forthwith to 'dissolve' and appeal to the electors for a final decision whether they will, or will not, accept in any form, or for any purpose, a duty on the importation of food.

'I have not a majority,' said Derby; 'but I have sufficient strength to withstand a factious opposition.' 'No,' I replied, 'I do not think you have; a Minister may defy both Houses, if he have the country on his side, but, be assured, the country is against you; altogether against you, I believe, on Protection; but most certainly on the obligation you lie under to tell them what you mean!' He was very civil and thanked me. Walpole the same, and he added, in confidence, that he had urged, again and again, this very counsel.

The new Ministerial arrangements were completed by the 27th of February. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was offered to Lord Palmerston, who declined to serve under Lord Derby; whereupon the office was accepted by Mr. Disraeli, to whom was assigned the Leadership of the House of Commons.

During the early part of this year, Lord Shaftesbury was unusually harassed by "letters, interviews, chairs, boards, speeches." "I am worn, worn, worn by them all," he says, "surrendering all amusements and society, giving all the day and half of almost every night to business and meetings, and all this in the face of weak health and tottering nerves."

In the midst of this work the time had come for him to leave his town-house in Brook Street and to

take up his residence in the old family house in Grosvenor Square :—

> Feb. 6th.—This is the last evening I shall ever spend in this house ; it is sold, and I must leave it to-morrow. I cannot leave it without regret. I have passed here many happy and useful hours, praised be God ; certainly more happy, and probably more useful, than I shall ever pass again. I have here prepared for nearly all my public labours, in study, thought, and prayer ; I am now in the vale of years, and, henceforward, shall feed on recollections. We had outgrown the dwelling, it had become too strait for us.

No fresh accession of labour ever tempted him to set aside the duties to which he had pledged himself. The "Exhibition year" had given an impetus to Ragged School work, and every fresh development of that heart-stirring movement brought a corresponding increase of toil to him. The difficulties in connection with the Board of Health had multiplied, and, as we shall see later on, were bringing the existence of that Board to a close. The May Meetings of this year laid heavier demands than ever upon Lord Shaftesbury, every Society being eager to secure the presence of the "new Earl" amongst them. It was due to his marvellous art of economising time that he was able to meet his engagements. The Lunacy Commission alone, it would have seemed, might have been sufficient to have occupied all his leisure, for he conducted his duties as Chief Commissioner with a care and scrupulosity that are as admirable as they are unusual. It was his rule, after visiting cases of special importance, to record the circumstances as an aid to his memory, and the thorough manner in which this was done may

be illustrated by the following memorandum, written in the early part of this year.

NOTES. VISIT TO —— AT HAYES PARK.

On Saturday, 10th January, 1852, called to see —— at Hayes Park.

House vastly superior, in site and accommodation and furniture, to most asylums.

Accompanied by Mr. Gordon and Mr. Gaskell.

Had an hour's conversation with ——; found him intelligent and collected, very ready to converse, and skilful in fencing with words and phrases. He admitted his former impressions that the Queen had exhibited towards him particular attention, but hesitated to explain the nature and mode of her attention. He declared that the belief he entertained of her having an attachment to him was a delusion; but the attentions he persisted in, and said that they were remarked by others as well as by himself. He admitted also that he had frequently written to her Majesty. He reiterated his assertion that his confinement was the work of the Government and Lord Fitzroy Somerset.

I pressed him on the contents of his letter to myself, in which he used the remarkable phrase, that he assaulted Dr. Mollen under the 'impunity' that belongs to one detained in a lunatic asylum. He stoutly and ingeniously maintained his proposition, asserting that he had assaulted, and would again assault, Dr. Mollen or any others, Lord F. S. included, who had 'offended' against him in this respect, of a charge of insanity; that the law could not touch him, for, as a certified lunatic, he was irresponsible; but that the case would be different were he pronounced sane and at liberty, because then he should become a responsible person and subject to the laws. I urged that, though there might not be a *legal* responsibility while he was confined, yet that, as he could distinguish right from wrong, there was a moral responsibility to the Law of God. 'Of that,' he replied, 'I do not pretend to know much, but what I do know is in my favour; I consider myself morally justified before God in assaulting Dr. Mollen, and all who, like him, offend against me in this respect.'

We then urged on him the necessity of caution, both in his language and action on this subject, telling him it greatly injured his chances of liberation, as most people would be seriously alarmed by such avowals, and hesitate to believe, though they might form erroneous conclusions, that anyone who so reasoned and acted, could safely enjoy freedom. Nothing could shake his opinion here; he declared that he would do no such thing, and that every one who heard him must concur with his views and feelings.

We entreated him to consult a friend, and abide by his advice; he declined to do so. Of his father he spoke with anger, but without violence; he wished, he said, to appeal to the Law, and, after the decision of the Law, he would shake hands with his father.

It is a most perplexing and painful case. We had no doubt of the first part of the proposition in the certificate, that 'he is of unsound mind,' but we must deliberate on the second, 'and a proper person to be confined.' Few things can be more distressing than to see this intelligent man, still in the prime of life, who has passed ten years in an asylum, and seems likely to pass many more. Were his monomania on any less exciting subject-matter than the person of the Queen, my opinion would incline to let him out; but this is no ordinary influence, this tendency to concentrate every morbid thought and feeling on the Sovereign; and a monomania that, in common cases might be harmless, becomes extremely dangerous when directed against, or upon, the first person in the Realm.

By June, the burden of overwork and over-anxiety had become so heavily oppressive, that we find this significant entry:—

June 19th.—Dr. Ferguson orders me to Ems to drink the waters.

It was some time before repose came, even at Ems. His mind was full of Ragged School work, to which a great impetus had been given at the anniversary meeting in May, when Exeter Hall had overflowed and two or three thousand persons had been sent away. It grieved him, however, that contributions should fall so

far short of enthusiasm. Moreover, he had conceived the idea that many of the teachers, though equally active *in* the schools, were less so out of them, and to meet this difficulty he had, just before leaving England, appointed a City Missionary exclusively to the ragged children "to perambulate the town, dive into dens, alleys, recesses, seek out the forgotten, oppressed, destitute, and 'compel them to come in.'"

July 15th.—Accounts from London of intense and intolerable heat; there, as in Paris, many deaths from *coup de soleil!* I shrink with horror when I think of the sufferings of the poor people in their crowded rooms, alleys, courts; it blunts the edge of my satisfaction here; it stands, in truth, between me and my 'cure.' We are told to talk of nothing, think of nothing that agitates; I cannot obey the doctor—as I lie panting under the influence of the sun, surrounded by clear air and fresh smells, I reflect with pain, and shame, and grief, on the condition of others who, under a sun equally powerful, are tortured by foul gas, exhalations—human, vegetable, putrescent—without, perhaps, a drink of wholesome water to assuage their thirst. My only comfort is, and it is but a slight one, that I have protested and laboured for years on their behalf.

It was a favourite recreation of Lord Shaftesbury in vacation time to write in his Diary what may almost be termed "essays" on the thoughts that arose within him. Thus, while at Ems, we find the following:—

July 20th.—Humanly speaking, and on human grounds, what countries in the world seem to enjoy the best and fairest prospects of greatness, security, and wealth? I should reply, France and the United States of America. The United States are a young country; and, so far as analogy is good, have all the hopes and prospects of healthy and vigorous youth. They contain within themselves everything, however various, that nature bestows, and in abundance inexhaustible. In art and science they are equal to the best; in energy of character,

almost superior. They have nothing to fear but from internal dissensions; they are beyond the power of foreign aggression. Their territory is nearly boundless, and so close as to furnish a ready safety-valve to all their discontented spirits; every year adds enormously to their numbers and resources, and wealth seems to grow like the grass of the field. Their Government is essentially republican; and there is actually nothing left to contend for in the way of *more liberal institutions*. They may, and will, have party strifes and struggles for the possession of place and power; but what social question remains? There is no Church to be invaded; no aristocracy to be pulled down; no king to be replaced by a president; efforts at organic changes would seem to be impossible, nor will the bane of Europe, the Socialistic principle, become, for many generations at least, a continuous and concentrated question.

'Slavery' will be a thorn in their side; but its utmost consequence would be a disruption of the Union, and the formation of two mighty and independent States; the North more powerful than the South. Then, probably, changes may begin; and, as Monarchy fades into Republics, so Republics rise into Monarchies.

July 22nd.—France presents a spectacle such as the world never saw before. Ransack history and say whether, in any age, there has existed a nation, living within a ring-fence, of high civilisation, advanced science, of military spirit and prowess, almost unrivalled, and numbering more than six and thirty millions, all speaking the same language, and, with the exception of a small fraction, all professing the same religion. She rests on two seas to the north and to the south, and possesses every requisite of a great maritime power; her surface is extensive, and her soil rich, producing, in wine especially, many things that other nations demand. She, like the United States, can fear little or nothing from foreign aggression; she is more than a match for any two of the Continental kingdoms; and, in the way of defence, perhaps, a match for them all. But her means of attack are very great; and both her past history and her present vigour impress a terror on every Government around her!

Such enormous resources will extricate her speedily from financial difficulty; and, indeed, Mr. Bates (of the great firm of Baring and Co.) told me the other day that he had more hopeful views of French finance than of any other country on earth. She, too, like the United States, has little left to destroy. Her Church is despoiled,

the Crown is taken away, the landed aristocracy are no more; nobility is forbidden and equality instituted. Further *organic* change seems impossible; a despotism, it is true, temporarily exists, which, while it lasts, is doing that form of good which liberty, I fear, will never effect; and, when it is overthrown, will leave the nation to its commonwealth again.

Her plague is that of Socialism, deep, rancorous, and widespread; the national character, nevertheless, counteracts it in some measure, and the personal interests of the community effect the remainder. Property in France will be stoutly and immediately defended. The attack must be specially and directly on *that*, since nothing else is left; and as those who are assailed feel that they are fighting for money, not for institutions; for fact, not for principle; for themselves alone, and not for other classes also, in the first instance, they will resist with a degree of alacrity and vigour that no other motive could infuse.

Another recreation in which Lord Shaftesbury indulged at Ems was one which was almost always denied him in England—the leisurely perusal of books.

August 15th.—Reading Birks on Daniel, clear, satisfactory, comfortable. The mysterious resources of China, the progressive might of the United States, will neither hasten nor retard the final development of man's destiny on earth! God's 'tender mercies are over all His works;' but prophecy is busy with those empires only that affect His ancient people, and, therein, the issue of the Elect Church, elect from 'all kindreds and tongues and people.'

August 23rd.—Dover. During my vacation have read Milton again. Well did Dryden say that 'the force of Nature could no further go.' The older I grow and the more experience I obtain, the deeper is my wonder at his mighty and overwhelming genius. How is it that no one before him chose such a subject? How is it that no one since has exhibited even the semblance of approximation to his power of handling such a subject? I cannot but believe that God, in His goodness, inspired the man—not as He inspired Isaiah and Joel, to *foretell future* events in strains of majestic grandeur, but to show, for the comfort and instruction of our race, that man's mouth and man's understanding are His own divine workmanship.

Soon after his return from Ems, Lord Shaftesbury received the painful intelligence that the Duke of Wellington, the friend of his early manhood, who had seen in him high principles and large capabilities, and had sought his friendship and his aid, was numbered with the dead. On the 14th of September, at Walmer Castle, the old hero breathed his last.

September 16th.—The death of the Great Duke is an 'event.' Will the world present other opportunities for other such heroes? Such a life is hardly on record; everything, nearly, went well with him, and he 'died full of riches and honour.' His dominant feeling was a sense of duty to the Crown and to the country; it was paramount to everything else. And now begins the ordinary scramble; he held many appointments, and many of his survivors will covet, and *some* will deserve, them.

There were rumours that the Chancellorship of Oxford, vacant by the death of the Duke of Wellington, would be offered to Lord Shaftesbury. The following entry refers to this :—

September 24th.—For myself it would add a burthen of duty to the many burthens I have already; it would necessarily call me off from many I have undertaken, and have hardly time and strength to discharge. Now, is there one that I would surrender for this honour? Not one. It is an honour I do not covet, a duty I do not like—an unprofitable field, a comfortless dignity. I hate all the circumstances of it. Let those who are ambitious of it obtain and enjoy the post; there will be candidates enough. I had rather, by God's blessing and guidance, retain those places for which there are *no candidates*—the chairs of the Ragged Union, the Colonial Dormitory, the Field Lane Refuge. . . . This is clearly my province. I am called to this, and not to any political or social honours. I am now fifty-two years of age; I have laboured almost incessantly for four-and-twenty years, and I have never received an honour, or

notice of any sort or kind, great or small, from the Crown, the Minister, or the public, except the citizenship of the small borough of Tain, in Scotland.

September 27th.—The Duke of Wellington's leavings are hastily snatched up. One only has been well bestowed : Lord Hardinge is the Commander-in-Chief, and Fitzroy Somerset * (' quo non præstantior') succeeds him at the Ordnance. With singular bad taste and greediness Lord Derby has taken the ' Cinque Ports' to himself. Pitt took it, no doubt, and so did Lord Liverpool; but they were Premiers of long standing, not the experimentalists of a few months. The Duke of Wellington took it, but after two years of the First Lordship and thirty of public service.

Lord Shaftesbury's ideas of burial were very pronounced. Any glorification of the body from which the spirit had fled was repugnant to him. He had no sympathy with the passion of some who would seek to battle with nature, and resist, or attempt to resist, the decree, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." He disliked the gross, material idea of burial, as unpoetical, unscriptural, and the result of materialism in theology ; he looked upon the corpses of the departed as no more than relinquished garments of *living* men and women, "temples of God, in which divine service is over and finished, the chanting hushed, the aisles deserted." This was no new idea of his. It was, like most that entered into matters of practical importance, fixed and rooted. We have heard him express the same sentiment in his journals of early continental travels ; we shall hear him re-echo those words with even greater force in the last year of his life, when supporting the efforts of the Cremation Society.

* Afterwards Lord Raglan.

November 18th.—Last night at half-past eight to 'lying in state!' What a monstrous misuse of splendour! here is the infirmity, or the infamy, of our nature. 'Dust to dust, ashes to ashes:' here is the decree of God! Order upon order, gold upon gold, troop upon troop: here is the decree of man! The decrees seem to be in collision. It was fine, very fine, but hardly impressive; signs of mortality, but none of resurrection; much of a great man in his generation, but nothing of a great spirit in another; not a trace of religion, not a shadow of eternity. They would have made far other display in Romish countries: the cross, a band of chanting monks, priests with censers—a false religion, it is true, but nevertheless something that would have shifted the thoughts from a mere grovel on the earth.

To-day the procession; saw it well, singularly well, from St. James's Palace. Day *providentially*—yes, *providentially*—fine; it spared, I doubt not (and let us thank God), many a sickness and many an accident. Stupendously grand in troops and music. It was solemn, and even touching; but it was a show, an eye-tickler to 999 out of every thousand—a mere amusement. The Duke himself would have *permitted* it, in a sense of duty; he never would have desired such a thing.

The Protestantism of five-and-thirty years ago was much more easily stimulated to enthusiasm than it is now, and the story of the interest and excitement aroused by the persecution of the Madiai in 1852 reads like a chapter out of some old-world history.

In the City of Florence there dwelt two small shopkeepers, Francesco and Rosa Madiai. They were simple folk, neither wealthy, great, nor powerful, but they were sincere. Under the influence of Protestant teaching, they were led to regard the Church of Rome, in which they had been reared, as in error, and, as they could not conscientiously remain in it, they determined to come out and be separate. The Scriptures

became their delight, and, although warned that to read them in their own house, and to seek to propagate them, or to spread the doctrines of Protestantism, would be to act in hostility to the religion of the State, they felt it was their duty to persevere and bear the consequences—"they could not but speak the things which they had seen and heard."

They were, in consequence, subjected to severe persecution. But this could not turn them from their purpose; the spirit of the old martyrs possessed them; they would not obey man rather than God. The matter was then referred to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who condemned them to five years' imprisonment with hard labour in the galleys.

When this sentence became known, it produced throughout Protestant Europe a sudden and simultaneous indignation. In England, by common consent, Lord Shaftesbury was looked to as the leader of the movement to obtain a reversal of the cruel and tyrannical sentence. One of his first steps was to lay the case before the Prince Consort, and acquaint him with the actual state of public feeling upon the subject.

To this letter the Prince replied:—

H.R.H. the Prince Consort to Lord Shaftesbury.

BALMORAL, *September 24th*, 1852.

MY DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—Many thanks for your letter respecting the unfortunate Madiais, which I received this morning. The cruel case had already attracted the Queen's notice, and I attempted a personal appeal to the Grand Duke, to which I have not yet received an answer. I tried particularly to impress him

(or rather his Confessor, who is the ruling power) that the case will do irreparable mischief to the Roman Catholic cause in England, knowing that, for the sake of Christian charity, not a finger will be moved.

This is the Church which calls *us intolerant*, merely because we do not choose to be *governed* by it! The King of Prussia has written to the Queen asking her to make joint representations with him at Florence. Her Majesty has, in her answer sent to-day, expressed her willingness so to do, and has instructed Lord Malmesbury accordingly.

Ever yours truly,

ALBERT.

It was decided by those who, under the leadership of Lord Shaftesbury, had so warmly espoused the cause of the Madiai, that a deputation should go out from England to intercede with the Grand Duke (the Archbishop of Dublin assuming the lead in Dublin).

The deputation, headed by Lord Roden, set forth on their mission on the 23rd of October. On the 26th Lord Roden wrote to Lord Shaftesbury, informing him that he had received a reply from the Tuscan Minister of Foreign Affairs, declining to receive a deputation on the subject of the Madiai. "They are Tuscan subjects," wrote the Minister, "and have been condemned to five years' imprisonment by the ordinary tribunals, for propagating Protestantism, which is prescribed by our laws as an attack upon the religion of the State."

The deputation went forward notwithstanding, and their return is thus referred to in the Diary:—

Nov. 12th.—Yesterday to Protestant Alliance to receive deputation on their return from Florence. Let us bless God; He has really prospered us. . . . Is it no remarkable sign, nay, proof

of the latter days, that when two small shopkeepers are persecuted by the hand of tyranny, for righteousness' sake, all Europe is in commotion; deputies start from England, France, Holland, Prussia, Switzerland; monarchs interfere with autograph letters, and the sanctity of principle and truth is maintained in the cause, and in the persons, of social inferiors; social, I say, for, God knows, they may be as 'Hyperion to a Satyr,' compared with grandees? It revives the memory and practice of Apostolic times; it is the dawn of the day when the Churches that 'hold the Head' shall be as one! Ah, how dear Bickersteth would rejoice in such a daybreak, were he on earth, but probably he is enjoying now a meridian display of God's full mercy to this thankless world! There are hopes, too, even for Italy; the populace crowded around the deputation; at Lucca, Lord Roden could scarcely prevent their drawing his carriage in triumph; at Genoa, the National Guard would have turned out in military order. This is good; the people will see that there is a reality in Protestantism, a spirit of brotherhood, a unity of hearts under a diversity of forms.

Successful as the deputation had been in stirring popular feeling, it had failed to obtain any reversal or mitigation of the sentence on the Madiai, and fresh steps had to be taken by the Protestants of Europe. Lord Shaftesbury, early in December, headed a deputation to Mr. Walpole, to petition the Queen on their behalf, a petition signed, "strange, but joyous to say, by one Archbishop (Dublin) and eight Bishops!"

In January, 1853, at the urgent request of the Protestant Alliance and many influential persons, Lord Shaftesbury was on the point of starting off for Florence "in search of the Madiai." Just when his preparations were made, he received a letter from the Protestants of Geneva "urging caution, breathing doubts, quenching spirits, and imposing wet blankets." But his ardour

was not damped, and he still purposed to go forward, when he received private information that at the present juncture of affairs he would "complicate the whole thing, worsen the condition of the Madiai, and do more harm than good." The journey was therefore postponed. Meanwhile other and more effective measures were in progress. Lord John Russell urged upon Sir Henry Bulwer, Envoy Extraordinary to Tuscany, the necessity of remonstrating strongly with the Tuscan Government on the subject. "As this is a matter affecting a Tuscan subject," he said, "it may be argued that Her Majesty's Government have no right to interfere. If this means that interference by force of arms would not be justifiable, I confess at once that nothing but the most extreme case would justify such an interference. But if it be meant that Her Majesty has not the right to point out to a friendly sovereign the arguments which have prevailed in the most civilised nations against the use of the civil sword to punish religious opinions, I entirely deny the truth of such an allegation."

The Grand-Duke withstood, as long as he was able, the storm his tyranny had provoked, but eventually he was obliged to yield, and on the 17th of March the Madiai were liberated.

An amusing episode of this subject was the receipt of a letter from an agent of Mr. Barnum—the American Showman—a letter that greatly tickled the humour of Lord Shaftesbury, who had a keen relish for a joke.

Mr. Barnum's Agent to Lord Shaftesbury.

MANCHESTER, *March 24th*, 1853.

MY LORD,—As I am aware your lordship is always actively engaged in a holy warfare against the Roman Catholic religion, and the mainstay of the converts from that faith, I calculate it is highly probable that Rosa and Francesco Madiai are likely to come under your Lordship's patronage on their arrival in the old country. As agent for Mr. Barnum, whose name, I presume, is not unknown to your lordship, I respectfully beg to be informed whether it is possible to enter into an engagement for these interesting people to exhibit themselves in our United States after the London season, as I have no doubt they would draw fair audiences in our northern States, where the Protestant feeling runs strong, and we are pretty alive to proceedings in this country.

Mr. Barnum would act liberally by these good people, and great good may be done.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

JOHN HALL WILTON.

Unfortunately there is no record of the reply Lord Shaftesbury sent to this communication.

In the autumn of 1853 Lord Shaftesbury was in Geneva, when he wrote in his Diary :—

Sept. 18th.—Geneva. Called with Lady Georgiana Baillie to see the Madiais. Saw Francesco ; Rosa unwell. As soon, however, as she had learned my name, and knew that I was President of the Protestant Alliance, to which, under God, she owed so much, she came, despite her weakness, which is considerable, to see me at the hotel. I am delighted with her—her devout, dignified, simple bearing and expression. She is a true confessor in manner and spirit, a servant of our Lord 'with all her heart, with all her soul, and with all her strength.' Francesco, though perhaps inferior in *mind*,

is not unworthy of her. May God bless them in time and in eternity, and raise up many such to 'witness before' kings, judges, and dukes!

It rarely happened that any one subject, however great its interest, was allowed to absorb Lord Shaftesbury's attention, and while the case of Madiai was proceeding, other and wider movements were claiming his aid.

In 1850, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote her celebrated tale, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It was first published in parts; on its completion it was reissued entire, and it then commenced a career almost unparalleled in the annals of literature. In the course of less than a year more than 200,000 copies were sold in the United States, and this was but a prelude to the still more astonishing success awaiting it in this country. It ran like wild-fire through the land, appealing to every class in cities, towns, and remotest villages, and affecting, as no other book, perhaps, had ever done, the imagination of the people.

From extracts already given from his journals, it will easily be seen how, with his utter detestation of slavery of every kind, the enormities revealed in this life-like fiction stirred the heart of Lord Shaftesbury. For years he had watched every movement in America bearing upon this subject; and latterly the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, by which "a whole nation, blessed by God with freedom, wealth, and the Holy Scriptures, declares it to be impossible to emancipate a slave, and penal to teach any one of them the first principles of Christianity," had distressed him

beyond measure. But hitherto he had been unable to take any important active part against the cruel system. As a matter of fact, there was at that time no action that could have been taken. After reading Mrs. Stowe's book, however, and when public feeling was stirred to its depths, he felt that it was impossible to remain quiet.

Nov. 6th.—Long troubled in spirit, and touched to the heart's core by 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' Marvellous work! What a power of Christian intellect! What a concentration, so to speak, of natural simplicity! One feels, as one reads it, that it is heaven-sent. It has a destiny. Ah, Lord, grant it, and forgive, at last, the descendants of Ham.

Determined to draw up an Address from the Women of England to the Women of America, and try to stir their souls and sympathies. Did it, and sent it off to the newspapers to-day.

The proposed address was to rouse public opinion, by an appeal to the great sympathies of mankind, so much more powerful than laws or statutes; and it was hoped that if it were taken up by local committees, enriched by many signatures, and then transmitted to America, it would not fail to produce a deep and fruitful impression.

It was a call from the Women of England to their sisters in America, to consider how far the system of slavery was in accordance with the Word of God, the inalienable rights of immortal souls, and the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion. One of the principal paragraphs was as follows:—

We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties—nay, the dangers—that might beset the immediate abolition of that long-established

system ; we see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event ; but, in speaking of indispensable preliminaries, we cannot be silent on those laws of your country, which, in direct contravention of God's own law, 'instituted in the time of man's innocency,' deny in effect, to the slave, the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights, and obligations ; which separate, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband, and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts to any race of men, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the Gospel and the ordinances of Christianity.

Henceforward for many years, events in America, especially as they bore upon the question of slavery, were noted at considerable length in Lord Shaftesbury's Diaries.

Nov. 12th.—To the House of Lords to take the oath. What a mode of administering a sacred office! What a 'hideous gabble!' Is there any—can there be any—value in such a form? A little encouragement to my slavery movement, but very little. Kind letters from the editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, and old Sam Rogers, the poet. It is refreshing to see a man so keen in his humanities at ninety years of age. . . .

Nov. 18th.—An anti-abolition party has triumphed and has elected a kindred President in the United States. Thus, humanly speaking, a new rivet has been added to the bonds of the wretched slaves, and a new and enlarged licence to debauchery, incest, mutilation, murder! But is it so? May not the extremity of the bondage be, as in the case of the Israelites, the moment of deliverance? Oh, Lord, hear our prayer, Christ Jesus, hear our prayer, and maintain Thine own word of mercy, truth, and peace! Have pity on our ignorance and infirmity, and make us to understand why it is that such special and singular horrors, in every form of physical and moral sin, are thus long permitted.

Nov. 20th.—It is wonderful to contemplate the long-suffering of God towards the American Republic. Their statute laws are in direct contradiction of the statute laws (so to speak, the Ten Com-

mandments) of God. Try them in succession, and it will be found that every decree is set at nought by the United States law. The 'fugitive' slave law was a compromise to maintain the Union at the expense of mercy, truth, justice, God's gifts and word. The whole of their domestic policy is governed, more or less, by 'slavery.' It is the beginning and the end of their movements. They invade Mexico to find a market for their breeding farms, seize on Texas, and re-establish that slavery which Mexico had abolished! They are bound together by compacts of murder, rapine, adultery. They say to three millions of God's immortal creatures, 'Your bodies are ours for lust, labour, for any amount or quality of suffering and degradation we choose to inflict, and your souls shall wallow in utter ignorance of the things of eternity.' And yet they prosper. Their dominion is mighty, their wealth stupendous; they seem to have nothing to fear from man, and every ambition is gratified. They boast of their freedom, their republic, their 'religion;' and the public press of England is silent on these things! What a mystery is all this! What is there in former times to match the present? What nation before, knew Thy will, read it in Thy Book, professed to believe it, and then passed laws (the work of the *whole people*, not of a single despot) in flat, insolent contradiction of Thy will and truth? Lord, 'increase our faith,' and speedily have mercy on Thy oppressed creatures, for Christ's ever dear and precious sake!

Nov. 21st.—Sunday. This United States slavery harasses my very soul; I can think of nothing else; breathe a prayer for them minute after minute.

Nov. 25th.—Busy, very busy, about my 'Address from the Women of England to the Women of America' on negro slavery. Have met with more sympathy and less ridicule than might have been expected; thanks, under God, to 'Uncle Tom's cabin.' My dear and steady friend, the Duchess of Sutherland, has been most zealous, serviceable, and high-minded. She has called a meeting of ladies in her house to form a committee and adopt the memorial.

Nov. 27th.—The Duchess did her part in the best manner. Ah, Lord, return all into her own bosom, and bless the house, which, glorious in human trappings, has been consecrated to the cause of Thy dear Son!

Dec. 7th.—The letters and articles in the *Times* are both wicked and silly, and yet they affect some weak minds. I am summoned,

people say, to answer them! Answer them! How can one answer such puerilities? One says that American slavery is no worse than the state of the poor in London; another quotes the needlewomen; a third asserts that domestic servants are debased and ground by tyranny; a fourth will not hear of any sympathy for the slaves until the lodgings for soldiers' wives are improved at Chatham. The truth is, that the thing has touched the consciences of some, who see that it has reached the hearts of others, and they endeavour to act by ridicule on that large mass who always prefer wrong to right, earth to heaven, whatever be the question at issue. This is bad, but it is better than oblivion. Yet, who will not blush at this exhibition of worldliness, falsehood, cruelty, and despotism in English society of the nineteenth century.

Dec. 15th.—Wrote yesterday to Mrs. Beecher Stowe to express my admiration of her work, and my gratitude to God who had stimulated her heart to write it.

The death of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth in 1850 had been a severe loss to Lord Shaftesbury. He looked around and saw no one who could supply his place; no one who could give him just the help and sympathy he needed in the anxieties of his ever-increasing work, no one on whose judgment he could place implicit reliance. Frequently, in times of great perplexity, he recorded in his journal (into which he poured every thought and feeling, every aspiration and hope, as well as every fear and misgiving) the sense of this great and growing want—the friendship of one who should be able to enter into his plans and purposes, and in whom he could confide in unrestrained measure. There were many sorrows pressing upon him which few could understand; his fellow-labourers did not know that the sufferings of the poor haunted him night and day, and grieved him as though they were personal to

himself; few ever realised that the records of slavery, persecution, and cruelty in the daily papers, and much more those that came within the scope of his own knowledge, would fill him with such burning indignation that he had difficulty in restraining himself from becoming the champion of every individual case of oppression. No one ever knew, until his Diaries were seen, how he chafed at delay in redressing wrong, how he literally "agonised" over the misery and the despair of those whose distresses were capable of being made endurable, if not altogether relieved. Nor did he stand in need of such a friend in the hour of his sorrow, less than in the hour of his joy. He craved for some one who, himself in the midst of similar labour, would be able to sympathise with him in his triumphs and successes, and be a sharer in the joy of harvest, no less than in the tearful sowing of the seed. It was this sense of want that made him write, in the midst of the enthusiasm kindled among Protestants on behalf of the Madiai, "It is the dawn of the day when the Churches that 'hold the Head' shall be as one. Ah, how dear Bickersteth would rejoice in such a daybreak were he on earth!" It was a cry for the touch of the vanished hand, and the sound of the voice that was still; it was an acknowledgment that there was no one else who held in his heart the same position his departed friend had held.

But a friendship was ripening which ere long should supply the one he had "lost awhile"—that is, as far as one friendship ever can supply the place of another.

In the prosecution of various good works, in committees and on platforms, he had been brought into contact with Mr. Alexander Haldane, a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, the representative of an ancient Perthshire family, celebrated in the annals of philanthropy and religion, and one of the proprietors of the *Record* newspaper—the organ of the Evangelical party.

Mr. Haldane, who was some months older than Lord Shaftesbury, was an active, energetic man, strong in body and mind, of great intellectual force and tenacity of purpose, and full of keen and warm-hearted sympathies. He was lively in temperament, with a strong sense of humour and an inexhaustible fund of anecdote. He possessed, as Lord Shaftesbury many years afterwards recorded, a strong intellect, a cultivated mind, and wide knowledge, and he devoted them all to the furtherance of religion and morality, to the honour of God, and the welfare of the human race.

He was for many years one of the principal writers for the *Record*. "At every important crisis, political and religious, the other proprietors were long accustomed to look to him to produce the appropriate leaders," and it was to his labours that the paper owed much of its influence and value. In public affairs he took a profound and absorbing interest. Politics at home and abroad, society, literature, the condition of the masses, and, especially, the great religious controversies of the times, were the subjects that chiefly engrossed his thoughts and inspired his pen.

The first friendly letter from Mr. Haldane to Lord

Shaftesbury was written in 1849, on the occasion of the death of his son Francis. In 1850-1 there was frequent correspondence between them, and after that date, as their intimacy increased, the letters became unceasing.

In course of time, whenever Lord Shaftesbury was in town, scarcely a day passed when Mr. Haldane did not "drop in" to bring the news, to report the progress of matters in which they were mutually interested, or to cheer with friendly counsel and intercourse. When absent from town there was an almost daily interchange of letters.*

Mr. Haldane's interest in the political events of his time brought him much into contact with prominent members of both Houses of Parliament, and for many years he had been in the habit of being present on the occasion of any important debate in either House.†

In the course of this narrative we shall quote at some length from the correspondence between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Haldane. A letter, written abroad in this year, on paper illustrated with a view of Ems, may be quoted in this place, as an example of the free and open confidence already existing between them.

* Lord Shaftesbury's letters were invariably preserved by Mr. Haldane, and some hundreds of them have been kindly placed by his daughters in the hands of the writer for the purposes of this Biography.

† From the time Lord Ashley became Earl of Shaftesbury Mr. Haldane was so constant an attendant at the House of Lords, that he acquired a prescriptive right to a certain place which was always reserved for him.

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Haldane.

EMS, JULY 27TH, 1852.

DEAR MR. HALDANE,—At the top of the note is the place where we drink the waters, and into which the Tractarians would, no doubt, gladly infuse a 'quietus' for me. My human security, however, is that I and the Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne drink from the same spring and at the same time.

I have only just received your letter. I have no disposition to notice the opprobrious fellows; I care not what they say or what they do. If *they* can write me down, I cannot write myself up; and of this I feel deeply convinced that if, after so many years of publicity, I have not character or favour enough (with the only portion of the world to which I could appeal) to withstand the attacks of Pusey, Sewell, Carlyle, and Co., my position is not worth preserving. When I was younger I had some ambition for myself; I have now no desire except to possess so much influence as may enable me to do good. Should these Sons of Babylon prevail, it will be because they find a 'predisposition,' as we said in cholera times, in the public mind to take the impression against me, and thus my hope of a healthy influence would be beaten down.

And to tell you the truth, I have had many indications of such an issue. The public grows weary of its servants; it is tired of 'humanity,' and dead sick of *me;* whether by being out of sight for a time I shall come forth like an old coat with a new fluff, is a matter of speculation; I much fear that they will find me out, and as the Showman said to Lord Stowell, when he went to see the mermaid, 'You have been a customer to me, my Lord, and I'll not take you in; it is only the old monkey!'—they will say, 'Don't attend to that speech, or go to that meeting, it's only the old monkey.'

But many thanks for your letter. Pray collect materials; we may yet be obliged to fight.

The place, I think, is beginning to do me good. God be praised. I long, however, to be home again.

Yours,

S.

Towards the close of the year, events were ripening which were to plunge Lord Shaftesbury into a sea of controversy and ceaseless activity.

It was announced that Lord Derby had advised the Crown to issue licence to Convocation to resume its Synodical functions. On the 22nd of October a formal meeting was held, when it was arranged that Convocation would assemble on the 5th of November, "for the despatch of divers urgent business."

Oct. 13th.—State now threatened by a revival of 'Convocation.' Derby, it is said, has given his assent to the scheme, thereby giving, rightly or wrongly, an impression that a *quid pro quo* has passed between him and the University; Convocation in exchange for the Chancellorship! But whither are we going? If Convocation were troublesome and dangerous in 1717, it would be fatal now.

On the 5th of November, the two Houses of Convocation commenced a sitting of one week's duration. Meanwhile public feeling had been stirred, and was growing in intensity in many quarters, against the attempted introduction of auricular confession into the Church. On the 22nd of September, the Bishop of Exeter had given judgment in favour of the Rev. G. R. Prynne, incumbent of a church near Plymouth, who, it was alleged, had introduced the practice of compulsory confession among the girls attending the Orphan Home in his parish.

At the instigation of the Protestant Defence Committee, a meeting was announced to take place at the Freemasons' Hall, to protest against this innovation, and against the revival of Convocation.

Apropos of this meeting, Lord Shaftesbury received the following letter from Mr. Gladstone :—

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to Lord Shaftesbury.

6, CARLTON GARDENS, *Nov. 8th*, 1852.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—I see it stated in the *Record* that you are about to preside at a meeting which is to be held forthwith for the purpose of deprecating the resumption by Convocation of its active functions ; and this reminds me to write to you on a kindred subject.

It grieves me to find that those who are opposing the revival of the functions of Convocation, propound, in such cases as have met my eye, no better or other mode either of healing those sores in the Church of England which grow deeper and angrier year to year, or of strengthening her organisation so as to enable her in some degree to discharge her duty as a National Establishment to the masses in the populous districts. No one knows better than you, how terribly true it is, that, with great political and immense social power, with large endowments, with a clergy abounding in zeal and by no means wanting in ability, and with a great number of intelligent and devout lay members, the Church of England not only falls short in the performance of this work, but, in plain language, with the rarest exceptions, is too feeble ever to make a serious attempt at it, and that, in consequence, these masses, again with individual exceptions only, have passed wholly beyond the sphere of her habitual influence.

The utmost we can hope from Parliament is, the occasional adoption of a measure for the repression of some positive abuse, or for the better husbanding of the pecuniary resources of the Church ; both of these good, but neither of them going to the root of the evil.

I have the happiness of recollecting that nearly five years ago when I expressed to you a conviction, on my part of long standing, that the only hopeful means for the cure of this and of other evils was, to prepare the way gradually and with circumspection for some corporate organisation of the Church herself, of which her laity should constitute an essential part, you, not without an expression of surprise at hearing such an opinion from me, stated *very emphatically* your concurrence in it ; and that more than once, when you have

kindly allowed me again to converse with you, you have repeated the same sentiments.

I wish, however, to call your attention to what has happened, and is happening, as respects this important matter.

Being myself convinced that in the practical fulfilment of such views lies the best, perhaps almost the only, hope for either real or permanent union in the Church of England and her various branches, as well as for invigorating her pastoral system, I have striven, as far as lay in my power, to promote some efforts in that direction; and, in particular, calling the notice of Parliament to the exigencies of the colonial Church, I have proposed to confer on it a qualified enfranchisement, enacting that over the exercise of its powers in each diocese, the laity should have a control alike full and independent.

My hope was that here at least there was a ground upon which might be exhibited for once, something like co-operation among Churchmen; my fear was that from the jealousy of those who are favourers of clerical power, if from any quarter, would arise (and this, I must add, has to some extent occurred in Scotland), the risk, and the only risk, of failure.

From those persons, however, in the House of Commons who I might have hoped would share your impressions, I have up to this time met with nothing but either discouragement or absolute and strenuous opposition.

Reverting to this, and now again perceiving that the movement against Convocation is assuming the unhealthful form of a movement in favour of the *status quo* as to Church organisation in England, I make an earnest appeal to you.

I do not ask you to bate your opposition to what are called clerical Parliaments; I am no admirer of them. In Scotland, where we have one, I have done my best to promote the kind of change we agree in wishing for. What I do ask of you is, not to lend your name, abilities, and influence to any course which really means acquiescence in the present paralysis of our system—a blind policy, which would simply aggravate the wounds and scandals of the Church of England, and place beyond all hope of remedy the utter feebleness and insufficiency that now mark her ordinary contact with those dense masses of human souls for whom she has to render an account.

I do not willingly thus trespass on your indulgence; but the future is overcast, and no one would knowingly forego an effort which

he thought might, under God, even if ever so little, mitigate its dangers or brighten its hopes. Much, I believe, now depends upon you.

I remain, very sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The meeting at Freemasons' Hall was held on the 15th of November. It was explained that its object was not so much to deliberate upon some positive course of action, as to take counsel and give mutual instruction and encouragement. Recent proceedings within the Church, developed more especially at Brighton and Plymouth, had made it necessary that resistance to the innovations should be made; and as the matter could not be dealt with in the Ecclesiastical Courts or the Criminal Courts, the promoters of the meeting had appealed to the Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to see how far his power would extend in putting a prohibition on the progress of these practices. He had replied that there was nothing left but to appeal to public opinion; and hence the meeting.

Lord Shaftesbury, in opening the business of the meeting, said:—

We have been somewhat criticised for bringing into juxtaposition Convocation and Confession. Now, it appears to me that they are so much akin, and so necessarily inseparable, that I should just as soon think of separating, in Guildhall, Gog and Magog as separating these two things. The Convocation, and I am speaking of the Convocation as extinguished in the year 1717, animated by the worst sentiments and views of priestly despotism and priestly ambition, would naturally, necessarily, and, to use a modern phrase, 'normally' resort to the Confessional as the best and most effective engine of priestly domination. We are not here to denounce every form of

Church synod or ecclesiastical assembly. We are not here to deny the expediency, or, if you will, even the right, of the Church to have some power and form of self-regulation. But we are here to denounce the revival of the Convocation that was justly extinguished in the last century. We are here to deny to that Convocation, if called together, the right or the power of suggesting the plan and the limits of its own reformation; and we are here to say that we will not submit to any clerical Parliament that will make the laity of this Church and of these realms mere 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to a select knot of sacerdotal dignitaries. A form of Church government upon a reasonable and moderate basis, in which the laity of the Church will have not only a great, but a dominant, share, is well worthy of consideration; but as for the other Convocation, that was extinguished in 1717. I can only express the hope that, should there be any attempted revival thereof, her most gracious Majesty will follow the example of her illustrious predecessor, and, to use the language of that great historian, Hallam, will 'sprinkle a little dust on the angry insects.'

The remainder of the speech related entirely to the Confessional, a subject to which we shall revert later on.

On the 3rd of December Mr. Disraeli introduced his Budget, in a remarkably effective speech of four hours' and a quarter duration. The Budget was unfavourably received by the Free Trade party; the debate extended over four nights, and on the 16th of December, the result of the vote placed the Ministry in a minority of 19, in a House of 591 members. Lord Derby immediately thereupon tendered to the Queen his resignation.

It was while Lord Shaftesbury was on the Continent, "combining business with pleasure," that the Ministerial crisis arose.

December 17th.—Half-past six. Paris. It is strange to me to be absent from '*a crisis*;' but were I present, what could I

do? My professed principles and public course have shut me out from the power of serving the Crown in office, and, in fact, from the wish of any one, in either House of Parliament, to see me there.

Derby ought not to resign; and, indeed, no Minister ought, henceforward, to resign on any single defeat. Repeated and rapid changes are becoming very hazardous; and as the House of Commons has undertaken to beat every Minister two or three times every Session, and then again support him with little or no principle, the Minister must refuse to retire, except before the real, unmistakable sense of the country. But all this verges on democracy.

December 29th.—Nice. Jocelyn arrived last night. Aberdeen, Prime Minister; Lord J. Russell, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Is it possible that this arrangement should prosper? Can the Liberal policy of Lord J. square with the restrictive policy of Lord Aberdeen? Supposing that they are true to their principles, how will they agree when Italy calls for sympathy against Austria? John, if he have a spark of honesty, will stand for Sardinia; Aberdeen, if he have an atom of consistency, will stand for Austria. I wish them joy, and a safe deliverance.

Graham, Newcastle, Gladstone, are again installed in power with much *éclat* and high commendation. I am like a stranded sea-weed when I find my adversaries in office and myself in disrepute. But, possibly, 'more are they that be with us than those that be with them.'

Did not love Derby's Government, and yet my few hopes were in their stability. Seven years of experience have shown the amendments necessary to complete my Laws of Lunacy. The Chancellor has undertaken to present and carry our amended Bills as an article of administration. He is fallen, and with him my hopes 'de re lunaticâ.'

December 30th.—Palmerston has accepted place under Aberdeen as Premier, and subject to John Russell's leadership as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. . . . His mortification will, I fear, be great almost daily. I regret it for his sake; I am fond of him; he is kind-hearted and friendly; he is getting on in life, and I could have wished him some respect and affection from those who were associated with him in his later days.

CHAPTER XXI.

1853.

The Poor of London—Progress of Ragged School Work—Advice to Teachers—Inspiring Zeal—Refuges and Industrial Classes—Emigration—Address to Children—The Poor Displaced by Building Improvements—A further Common Lodging-Houses Bill—Juvenile Mendicancy—Juvenile Delinquency—A Curious Episode—Challenged to Fight a Duel—Correspondence with Lord Mornington—Youthful Offenders' Bill—The Waldensian Christians—Pasteur Meille—Peripatetic Schoolmasters—Foreign Taste—Protestantism Abroad—Anti-Slavery Agitation—Stafford House—Reply from the Women of America—An Editor's Mistake—China—London Missionary Society—Sanitary Reform—"Unpardonable Activity"—The Board of Health Abolished—Democracy—English Radicals—Cobden on Education of the Masses—Reply thereto—The Career of a Philanthropist—Financial Difficulties—Lawyers—Family Affairs—Rewards to Agricultural Labourers—Palmerston's Reply to Scotch Memorialists.

"The poor shall never 'cease out of the land.' That we know," wrote Lord Shaftesbury, "for God has said it. But the poor of London are very far different from the poor of Scripture. God has ordained that there should be poor, but He has not ordained that, in a Christian land, there should be an overwhelming mass of foul, helpless poverty."

To roll away, in some measure, that reproach from London, was the gigantic task Lord Shaftesbury felt he had "been called of God" to attempt, and the machinery he regarded as best adapted to the accomplishment of that end was the Ragged School system.

Since the Ragged School Union was founded there

had been added to the field of its operations, in the space of six or seven years, more than a hundred new schools, attended by considerably over ten thousand children. Lord Shaftesbury's labours multiplied in proportion to the multiplication of the schools. Each had its opening ceremonies, or its anniversary, or its prize distribution night, and each sent in its special claim to his assistance. It required almost superhuman strength to perform the duties devolving upon him. Conferences with teachers, interviews, correspondence day after day; and, in all parts of London, Chairs and the inevitable speeches night after night.

His watchfulness was unceasing. There was not a detail of the system that escaped his observation. For example: there was a tendency in some schools, as order was established and decent rooms supplied, to admit children of a class and condition for whom the schools were not intended; and also, to retain those who had mended their ways and had risen in the world, instead of transplanting them to other schools. Against this tendency Lord Shaftesbury took a very decided stand. On one occasion he said:—

> You must keep your Ragged Schools down to one mark; you must keep them, as I have said a hundred times, and, until I carry my point, I shall say a hundred times more, in the mire and the gutter, so long as the mire and the gutter exist. So long as this class exists, you must keep the schools adapted to their wants, their feelings, their tastes, and their level. I feel that my business lies in the gutter, and I have not the least intention to get out of it.

He had a great dislike to making any unnecessary parade of the schools, and a still greater dislike to the

system of selecting special examples of children for the purpose of winning applause.

People are glad to see a superior class; and those who come to the schools are impressed with the merit of the master who has raised miserable urchins to such beauty and comfort; and that is one great reason why I constantly advise not to have in your Ragged Schools—I think they are bad in any schools—periodical exhibitions and displays. They have the very worst effect both upon the master and the children. The result, even in the better sort of schools, is that the great efforts of masters and teachers are devoted chiefly to those children who have the gift of intellect, because they become the more presentable and make the greater display, and the more extol the schoolmaster. Meanwhile children of humble capacity, though perhaps of better hearts, and far better qualified to adorn society and exhibit the pearl of great price, are overlooked. That is bad in schools of a higher description, but when you come to schools of the condition of Ragged Schools, where you have only the training of children to fill the most subordinate offices among the working classes, is it not desirable that everything that can be cultivated in the child of morality, piety, religion, and simplicity should be fostered, and should not be set aside merely with a view to the intellectual, produced to attract an inspector or a wondering audience, who may give credit to the master or mistress, although that credit may have been produced by the total sacrifice of those other children, who would have been far more conspicuous for goodness of heart than acuteness of intellect?

His unfailing zeal as their leader inspired a kindred zeal in the teachers, and his stirring words often put new life and energy into them, and, therefore, into their work. He would speak to them thus:—

I tell you, my friends, that if, with all the success you have attained, with all the knowledge you have acquired, with all the blessings you have received, you pause in your course any longer than is necessary to take breath, gather strength, survey your position, and thank God—why then I say, never again come into this

hall, for if you do, I will be the first to say to you, as Cromwell said to the House of Commons, 'Out upon you! begone; give place to honester men.'

Almost every year, there had been some important extension of the scope of Ragged School work. The original idea was merely to provide day, evening, and Sunday schools for infants, juveniles, and adults of the lowest order of the destitute and outcast classes. To this, as we have seen, Lord Shaftesbury's emigration scheme had been added, and admirably had it succeeded. But other organisations equally important had come into operation: the chiefest being Refuges and Industrial Classes. It was found that the work in the schools lost much of its moral power, in consequence of the constant and daily antagonism it encountered from the exposure of the scholars, on retiring from the scene of instruction, to all that was contaminating and vile in the wretched places they called their homes. Lessons of virtue were nullified by examples of vice. And it was heartrending to know that many a child had no choice but to go from school to the haunts of vice and crime in order to obtain food for the day and shelter for the night.

The question of providing Refuges became a burning question with many, and efforts were made to establish them, not only in the metropolis, but in the large towns and cities of the kingdom.

The Refuges were at first of two classes. Night Refuges, for casual vagrants, preference being given to children attending the Ragged School; and permanent

Refuges, for the support and education, for a stated period, of young persons between ten and sixteen years of age.

The object of the Industrial Classes was rather to assist in the formation of tidy and useful habits, than to rear a race of regular artisans. In some of the classes, making and mending their own clothes was the only thing taught to the children; in others, making and printing paper bags, printing handbills and circulars, making mats and church hassocks, and other simple handicrafts.

Although there were, of necessity, many drawbacks to the Ragged School movement; although the work was greatly impeded by a periodical deluge of the miserable population of Ireland, flooding the districts that had been purged and improved; although success was, in a great measure, indirect and could not be shown by figures,—the best results of the system being removed from public view by emigration; although no support was received from Government or from legislation, and comparatively little from the wealthy classes—an enormous amount of good resulted, and, as early as the year 1851, Lord Shaftesbury had been able to say:—

> We have devised and organised a system of prevention by which to stop crime while it is in the seed, and sin before it has broken into flower and desolated society. Although other schools may have stood in the way of vice and crime, no one could say of them, with certainty, that almost every one trained in them would, without their intervention, have been a vagabond or a thief; domestic discipline and other circumstances might have interposed to do their work. But we do maintain that every one of those whom we have reclaimed

would, from the very necessity of his position, have been either a thief or a vagabond; we do maintain that, by the instrumentality of this institution, we have established a preventive system which operates in anticipation of the gaoler, or even of the hangman. We have, moreover, greatly abated the amount of juvenile delinquency, and have cleansed the metropolis, not by pouring out from it the filth of our streets, but by passing these children through a cleansing and filtering process, before we poured them forth in a rich and fertilising stream on the colonies of our country.

The emigration movement, originated by Lord Shaftesbury, was always a branch of the system which secured his warmest sympathy, and there was scarcely a child who left these shores under the auspices of the Ragged School Union who did not receive some personal kindness from him, as well as direct words of help and encouragement. The success of the scheme was remarkable, and it was due, in no small measure, to the strong personal interest that he had taken in each individual child that, at the expiration of ten years, he was able to say:—

I believe, among all the children sent out by the Society from this country there is not on record one single instance in which the child has disgraced the education that was given to him here; whereas there are many instances upon record in which those children have done great honour to this institution.*

Another feature of the Ragged School system with which he was especially identified was the gift of a prize or certificate to each scholar who had remained in one situation for twelve months with satisfaction to his employer, and for general good conduct.

* Ragged School Union Anniversary, May 12, 1856.

Lord Shaftesbury's addresses to the children on these occasions were models of their kind, and overflowed with such intense "fatherliness," that they never failed to touch their hearts and bring tears of pleasure to their eyes. We must give one specimen here:—

Now, my dear children, I must just impress upon you that the advantages which you now enjoy, place you in a very different position from that in which you were some time ago. It is now in your power—young as you may be, humble as you may fancy yourselves to be—to do very great good in the generation in which you live, and to benefit greatly the little boys and girls who are still in the same position as that from which, by the blessing of God and the exertions of your friends, you have been rescued. Now it is for you, by the example you shall set, by the behaviour you shall manifest, by the principles you shall profess, by your obedience to your masters, by your general deportment in life—it is for you to reflect very great credit indeed upon Ragged Schools. You will be able to show by your conduct in life, that Ragged Schools are of very great value, that they have been, and will continue to be, the means whereby many poor children may be rescued from sin and misery, and you will have the satisfaction, therefore, of knowing that you, along with us and others, have contributed in no slight degree to the good of the suffering children of your generation. And remember that, having the power to do this, you will be considered very sinful, and very guilty, if you do not do it. . . .

Now, you are called here to-day for the purpose of receiving a prize, a testimonial of good conduct. This card, although a very simple thing in itself, will be very honourable to the possessor. You know that in some of the higher ranks of life the fancies of people are very much tickled by stars, and by ribbons, and by garters; they like them exceedingly, and they look very well when they have them on, and no doubt they are objects of considerable honour and reward to those who have laboured well in their vocation and have done good to their country. Depend upon it, however, that this, in its degree, is just as honourable to you as the diamond star is to a person in any station of life whatever. You will have done your duty in

your station of life; and, if you were to become the greatest man or woman the State ever knew, you cannot go beyond that point of honour—to close your lives having done your duty. However humble your station of life, you know not of what value that station may be in the order of God's providence. We shall never know in this life, the precise purpose and object that has been assigned to the career of each of us; but of this I am quite sure, that every one of you can, by God's blessing, conduce to the welfare of mankind and to the honour of God's truth; and thus, whether you be among the poorest and the most forgotten, or among the wealthiest and the most elevated, you will have fulfilled that duty which you have been called upon to perform; and then, by God's blessing and free mercy, and not by any merit of your own, you will hear the words at the great final day, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.'*

Every fresh phase in the progress of Ragged School, and kindred, work, Lord Shaftesbury noted in his Diary, as well as his hopes and fears, his elation and depression, in connection with them.

The next entry, although written in the Royal Palace, shows that his thoughts were still with the forsaken children of the London streets.

Jan. 20th, 1854.—Windsor Castle. A play here last night. Wonderfully amused. It is, doubtless, rather in the style of Louis XIV., but it is amusing, nevertheless.

Must insert, to aid my recollection (though, probably, shall never have leisure or spirit to review my entries for many years), some preceding operations. On Sunday, 15th, to Field Lane Ragged School in the evening. Never go there without seeing something for which to bless God.

Five hundred persons, from five years old and under, to fifty, engaged in reading, hearing, learning the word of God! What singular and remarkable instances of moral power! A dozen stout, full-grown, savage-looking men sitting like lambs under the teaching of a young woman! 'It is marvellous in our eyes.'

* Ragged School Union Meeting, Feb. 23, 1854.

On 11th, Chair at Dorchester to present Bankes with piece of plate—testimonial for his twenty years' Chairmanship of Quarter Sessions. The invitation to me was intended as move towards reconciliation of the rupture between me and him seven years ago. I accepted it as such; peace, peace—peace everywhere 'on earth as it is in Heaven.'

March 24th.—Some work since my return to London. Anxious labour for the Reformatory, and speech in Willis's Rooms. This noble institution is dying for want of funds, and the rich and easy of the land will sit by and see thousands be rejected and perish, for the lack of a few pounds! Everybody bepraises our exertions and success; and the smallest fraction comes to our aid. If our asylum contained dead Indians or tattooed Zealanders we should excite overwhelming interest, but because it contains only live Penitents we have scarcely any.

April (Good Friday).—Surely God has heard our prayers to save the Reformatory from extinction. Money has flowed in, and this day I received one hundred pounds for it from the Duke of Bedford! May God bless the deed to his comfort and stir him (for his riches are immense) to other acts of love and mercy!

The year 1853 was marked by the introduction in the House of Lords and to the public, of a number of new schemes for the benefit of the London poor.

In estimating the labours of Lord Shaftesbury, it must never be forgotten how much he had to overcome before he could throw himself into any fresh sphere of action. His self-depreciation, nervous anxiety, ill-health, and consequent low spirits made him shrink from public labours, while his burning zeal was ever urging him forward. It required not a little heroism, persistently to surrender himself for the good of others.

The first of the new enterprises of this year is thus referred to in the Diary:—

March 19th.—Last night movement in House of Lords to obtain a 'standing order' for the protection of the multitudes to be displaced by 'Improvement Companies.' Obtained a Committee of Inquiry. Felt dull, incompetent, and confused in my speech. The locality and the audience are one cause, and my own infirmity the other. It dispirits me, for, old as I am, I am full of projects. With me 'the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth.'

Lord Shaftesbury's motion was to the effect that any Bill, sanctioning or involving the pulling down of houses inhabited by the labouring classes, should make provision for the erection, within a convenient distance, of dwelling-houses sufficient for the accommodation of at least as many persons as should be dispossessed. Large multitudes of the industrious classes, displaced by "Improvement Companies," were driven, either to seek lodgings at a great distance from their employment, which would often involve their ruin, or else, were compelled to inhabit dwellings already over-crowded, filthy, and infested with the diseases incident to a densely-populated locality. In St. Giles's, Farringdon, Whitechapel, Westminster, and elsewhere, where great "clearances" had been made, the suffering, occasioned by the improvements, was terrible. The inhabitants were ejected, but the localities were not cleared of their population; the people only crowded themselves more densely together in the lodging-houses in the immediate neighbourhood. The same thing happened when railways, running through some of the vilest property in London, were constructed. Holders of real property received compensation when these improvements were effected, but when the poor

were driven from their dwellings, and consequently from their work, which was generally near at hand, there was taken from them the only source of profit, the only means of livelihood, they possessed. It was bare justice that, when Companies asked for large powers to make improvements, they should be required to carry them out in a manner as little oppressive as possible to the class who did not derive any direct benefit from them. Lord Shaftesbury did not urge the question solely, however, though he did so principally, in the interests of the humbler classes; he urged it also because the results to public morality and the public welfare generally, were very serious. When hundreds and thousands of poor people were driven into localities, already shamefully overcrowded, every form of disease, and all the concomitant pauperism and misery, were engendered, and epidemic disorders, not confined to the densely-populated districts, would spread to localities inhabited by the higher classes, as a consequence of those abominable evils.*

The question was surrounded with difficulties, which were duly pointed out in the debate that ensued. The matter was at length referred to a Select Committee, who reported in the following May. It was then resolved that, in future, the promoters of Improvement Bills should report the number of houses inhabited by the labouring classes to be pulled down (if more than thirty in number), and state whether any, and what,

* Hansard's Debates, cxxv. 400.

provision was made for remedying the inconvenience likely to arise.*

Although this was only a step, it *was* a step in advance, and Lord Shaftesbury was gratified, more especially, as from letters he received from Mr. Cubitt, the large contractor, and others, he felt satisfied that the relations between capital and labour would, by this resolution, be much improved.

His second great effort on behalf of the poor this year, was taking charge, in the House of Lords, of another Common Lodging-Houses Bill. The previous Act had been "the first successful effort that had been made to reach the very dregs of society—the first to penetrate to the deepest dens of vice, filth, and misery." It was necessary, however, that further beneficial provisions should be made, especially as regarded inspection, and that other provisions, which had hitherto been optional, should be rendered compulsory.

In moving the second reading of the new Bill, on May the 13th, Lord Shaftesbury was able to report, not only from the evidence of others, but from his own personal inspection, that the previous Act was working well. The houses had been cleaned, the walls and ceilings whitewashed, the ventilation improved, the bedding was better in quality, quantity, and cleanliness, the number of persons to be admitted had been carefully regulated, and the liability to fever and other contagious diseases considerably lessened. It was shown, also, that in the common lodging-houses there were, according to

* Hansard, cxxvi. 1,291.

the latest returns, no fewer than 80,000 inhabitants who, as well as the keepers of the houses, had materially benefited by the Act. The principal object of the present Bill was to give fuller power to punish offences under the previous Act, to abate certain nuisances not hitherto specified, to provide for the removal of the sick to hospitals, and to arrange for reports as to the lodging of beggars and vagrants.*

In advocating the Bill, Lord Shaftesbury urged, that if it were successfully carried into effect, many houses then beyond the reach of inspection would be affected by it, together with a great mass of the population. If these common lodging-houses were not brought under proper regulation, it would be in vain to strive against juvenile delinquency, for it was in them that nine-tenths of the crimes perpetrated were plotted.†

The Bill did not reach the Commons till the 6th of June; it passed the three readings, however, without debate, and received the Royal assent on August the 4th. The advantages of the measure were so obvious, that a Bill to extend its provisions to Ireland, introduced into Parliament in 1860, passed through both Houses without debate, and received the Royal assent a few weeks after its introduction.‡

In commenting upon the Act of 1853, the *Times* remarked:—"To purify the Inferno that reeks about us in this metropolis, to recover its inmates, and to drive the incorrigible nucleus into more entire insulation, is

* Hansard, cxviii. 235. † Hansard, cxxvii. 294.
‡ Hansard, clvii. and clviii.

one of the labours to which Lord Shaftesbury has devoted his life; and we can never be sufficiently obliged to him for undertaking a task which, besides its immediate disagreeableness, associates his name with so much that is shocking and repulsive.

"To Lord Shaftesbury's legislation we owe the gratifying fact that these recesses are explored by authorised persons, that houses are no longer permitted to take in more than as many as can breathe properly in them, that lodging in cellars is prohibited, that the rooms are properly cleaned and whitewashed, that ventilation, lighting, and drainage are provided for, and the furniture of the houses sufficient for the authorised number of lodgers. As far as the work has proceeded, we can hardly conceive a more meritorious or more gratifying triumph. It is a great result out of the very worst materials. To change a city from clay to marble is nothing compared with a transformation from dirt, misery, and vice to cleanliness, comfort, and at least a decent morality." *

Notwithstanding the success of Ragged Schools, Night Refuges, and Reformatories, and the wider provisions of the Common Lodging Houses Acts, juvenile mendicancy and crime, if not on the increase, certainly showed no sign of abatement. It was said that more beggars were to be encountered in a walk from Westminster Abbey to Oxford Street, than in a tour from London to Switzerland, whether by Paris or the Rhine.

* *Times*, May 16, 1853.

The third great effort of Lord Shaftesbury for the removal of the vice, degradation, and misery of the metropolis, was an onslaught on Juvenile Mendicancy and Crime. He had been an attentive observer of the causes that had conspired to hinder the success of Ragged Schools, and had arrived at the conclusion that dissolute parents were undoing all the good that was done, by sending out their children into the streets to beg, while they lived in drunken depravity upon the proceeds thus obtained. He found that a vast number of orphan children managed to remunerate the low lodging-house keepers who sheltered them, in a similar manner. It was notorious that this great army of child-beggars was a nursery of theft and every form of evil. To strike at the root of this mischief, he introduced into the House of Lords a motion on the "Repression of Juvenile Mendicancy and Crime."

The speech in which he brought forward his motion was a remarkable one. In addition to his own wide knowledge of the subject, he had fortified himself with communications from magistrates and reports of inspectors, and, over and above these, with statements made by ninety thieves resident in one institution; the testimony of 100 City missionaries, the opinions of 100 gentlemen "particularly and practically conversant with that class," besides the confessions of 100 "professional misdemeanants." Such a mass of curious, but concurrent, evidence, was hardly ever presented on any subject before. We need not describe its nature here; it is enough to say that it went to show that the principal cause of

confirmed crime was juvenile mendicancy; and that in the large majority of cases, the cause of juvenile mendicancy was parental misconduct. The little vagrants were sent forth and directed not to return without a certain amount of money, however obtained. Thus the frauds and artifices of professional begging grew into petty theft, and "the young mendicant became a confirmed robber without ever, in fact, having been acquainted with any other calling."

Lord Shaftesbury's proposition was, that the Vagrant Act should be so extended as to empower the police to apprehend—not for the purposes of punishment but of protection—all children found in a state of vagrancy in the public streets, and bring them before the magistrates. The children were then to be committed to the workhouse and educated, if possible at the charge of the parents, or if not, at the charge of the State; but in any case to remove the children from the corrupting influence of the parents.

It cannot be denied that, good as the proposal was in many respects, it was open to many objections, and it need hardly be said that serious obstacles had to be encountered in the attempt to pass the Bill. It was argued that the placing of young persons, who were criminal, or quasi-criminal, in the workhouses would render those establishments "distasteful to the poor;"—that it was contrary to the original design of the workhouses to make them "Houses of Detention;" that the accumulation of children—20,000 of whom it was alleged were graduating in the school of vice—would

lead to intolerable pressure and expense; that the particular children or parents to be dealt with, could not be clearly defined—and other objections, to all of which Lord Shaftesbury fully replied.

At the conclusion of the debate he said the passing of the Bill was an object very dear to his heart, and he was rejoiced to find that "the adverse decree he had anticipated" on the part of the Lords was not realised. In a subsequent stage the Earl of Aberdeen (Prime Minister), Lord Campbell, the Duke of Argyll, and others, gave him hearty support.

June 24th.—Labouring hard on two Bills; one for the Suppression of Juvenile Mendicancy, and thereby of juvenile delinquency, another for the abatement of bribery, intimidation, and expense at elections. Never was I more convinced of the extensive and beneficial results that would spring from these measures; never was I more in doubt of my success to pass them! I should be certain, humanly speaking, were I in the House of Commons; but I shall have great difficulties in the Lords, and no hearty mouthpiece in the House of Commons. Pray I do, pray I will; and God may yet prosper me. Oh, what a comfort to enjoy the thought of their blessed operation while in brief repose! The House of Lords is terrible; there is a coldness, an inattention, and an impassibility which are perfectly benumbing.

July 5th.—There is hope and comfort, the Lord be praised. To-night introduced Juvenile Mendicancy Bill in House of Lords. Scarcely ever had such difficulty in remembering what I had to say, in finding words to say it in, and in delivery to make it known. I felt like a rusty clock, which nobody trusts to, and the striking of which is disagreeable to those who hear it.

July 12th.—After much anxiety and discussion, carried, with hearty approval, Mendicancy Bill, with amendments, through the House of Lords.

A curious episode sprang out of Lord Shaftesbury's

speech on moving the second reading of this Bill. He had claimed for the poorer classes, that jurisdiction which the Court of Chancery exercises over the rich—namely, that in case of a notorious violation of the parental trust, a magistrate should be enabled to place the child in an asylum, where the State might perform for it duties which its parents had omitted. To strengthen his argument, he quoted the judgment of Lord Eldon, given some thirty years previously in the well-known case of Mr. Long Wellesley, afterwards the Earl of Mornington, who was deprived of the care of his own children. The case was notorious, and the judgment had been cited hundreds of times, as a leading authority on the limits which public policy sets, to the right of a parent to abuse the trust which nature has confided to him, for the education and religious and moral training of his children. There was, of course, nothing unusual in citing such a case; on the contrary, nothing could have been more natural. It was an apt illustration of his argument, and was the more weighty as it was a decision given by a high authority. It was, moreover, a quotation from a well-known law book accessible to everybody.

Lord Mornington, however, was weak enough to allow himself to be greatly perturbed in spirit, by the quotation of a decision, in the justice of which he did not concur; weaker still in writing to Lord Shaftesbury calling upon him to retract, or failing in this, to meet him in "mortal combat;" weakest of all in

sending the correspondence to the newspapers for publication.

The age of duelling had, even then, passed away in England, and the following correspondence may be regarded as among the curiosities of literature. Lord Mornington's "challenge" is probably one of the last of the long series, demanding "the satisfaction due to a gentleman."

Lord Mornington to Lord Shaftesbury.

124, Mount St., Grosvenor Square, *July 9th*, 1853.

My Lord,—In consequence of severe and long indisposition, I have not been able for the last few years to take my seat in the House of Peers, and I have only this day had brought to my notice, by a friend, the speech that you made on the 5th inst. in the House of Lords, when moving the second reading of the Juvenile Mendicancy Bill.

My lord, in this speech, evidently the result of 'laboured preparation' and 'research;' not delivered in the heat of debate; intended to be spoken in the House, while made for the public eye, you have thought fit to go back for a period of twenty-seven years, to dive into a Chancery suit of my personal and private affairs for the purpose of repeating a most offensive, a most slanderous and unjust speech of the late Earl of Eldon, when Chancellor, without taking the smallest trouble to refer to my answer and my perfect justification and refutation of the suborned perjurers, bought and brought forth on that occasion, and so proved by the subsequent prosecutions in the courts of law, by the persons inimical to me, and who then, and ever since, have conspired to destroy me in fortune, reputation, and life.

When the unjust decree of Lord Eldon was given against me, and so given after I had proved the perjury upon the testimony of which that decree was made, I took a step so bold and open that I could have hoped that it would have its effect even upon your lordship, so celebrated for your Christian benevolence.

It was, my lord, at once to appeal to the electors of the county of

Essex, in which my wife and children were born and had lived, in which I had for many years resided, in which county are my estates and my numerous tenantry.* By this appeal I asked the electors of Essex for their verdict on my life and conduct. I called upon them to decide, by the verdict they should give, whether I was guilty or not guilty of the charges brought against me. My lord, the answer to this appeal was made in 1830, when I polled the unprecedented number of 1,688 plumpers; and, although I lost my election by a small majority upon that occasion, what happened in the next year (1831)? This, my lord: that while I declined to be present during that election, or canvass a single vote, the electors formed a committee, raised by subscription a fund sufficient to defray the entire expenses of that election, and returned me the member for this opulent and influential county, notwithstanding a formidable contest, the result of which was the defeat of the former member.

This, my lord, was the verdict of the county of Essex upon my life and conduct, given in 1831, and this was my answer to the infamous decree of the Chancellor Lord Eldon.

My lord, I have taken the trouble to give you this explanation of my life and conduct prior to asking your Lordship to explain to me whether, in taking the course you have done in slandering me, your fellow peer, during my absence from the House of Lords, you have done this with the intent to offer me a personal insult, and if such was your intention, whether I may hope that you are prepared to meet the responsibility of such a course of proceeding? This I trust you will do, and I therefore beg leave to invite your lordship either to explain and retract the offensive remarks with which you introduced my name in your speech of the 5th inst. in the House of Lords, and which have been reported in the *Times* newspaper of the

* The *Times*, in commenting upon this appeal from the judgment of the Lord Chancellor to the "free and independent" electors of Essex, says: "Mr. Wellesley, in addressing the court of appeal from the hustings, stated that 'if any one alluded to those family matters, he would do what became him'—that is, we presume, would summon him to mortal combat. The effect of this menace was that nobody did allude to those matters, and therefore that the electors reversed the decree of the Lord Chancellor without the advantage of argument or discussion."—*Times, July 15th*, 1853.

6th inst., or to say whether you will give me that alternative that I am entitled to, and which I trust that you will not refuse.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

MORNINGTON.

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord Mornington.

July 11, 1853.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from your lordship dated the 9th of this month.

In my speech in the House of Lords I simply quoted a judgment of Lord Eldon's—a law case, published in a law book. This I had a right to do whether in Parliament or out of it; and every one has the same right.

Your lordship is good enough to send me what is technically called 'a challenge.' I refer you for a reply to this, and any future communication, either to the Police Magistrate in Bow Street, or to my solicitors, Messrs. Nichal, Smyth, and Burnett, 18, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn.

Your obedient servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

In a "parting shot" the Earl of Mornington characterised this reply as "very absurdly impertinent," and regretted that Lord Shaftesbury had not "the spirit to meet what he had himself provoked, in the manner which regulates the conduct of gentlemen!"

The only allusion to this incident in the Diary is the following:—

July 22nd.—Ems. Have never recorded the august and valorous challenge I received from Lord Mornington, because I quoted, in my speech on Mendicity, the judgment of Lord Eldon *in re* Long Wellesley. This would have been foolish had I been a fighting man; but

it was both foolish and cowardly, when he knew, as well as I know it myself, that I neither send nor accept such things !

It was late in the Session when the Mendicancy Bill was sent to the Commons; there was a pressure of other measures which the Government had engaged to pass; the Poor Law Commissioners and Metropolitan members showed an active opposition that there was not time to counteract, and Lord Shaftesbury's Bill was lost for that Session.

About the same time another important measure, of a similar character, was shelved. In 1852 a Conference was held in Birmingham on Juvenile Crime, the result of which was the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the subject and examine witnesses. Their labours resulted in the preparation by Mr. Adderley, of "A Bill for the Better Care and Reformation of Juvenile Offenders." This was the Bill that, as well as Lord Shaftesbury's, was postponed.

In December, 1853, another Conference was held at Birmingham, under the presidency of Sir John Pakington, at which Lord Shaftesbury was the principal speaker. In the course of his speech on that occasion, and again at a great public meeting in Birmingham, he thoroughly ventilated the whole question of Juvenile Mendicancy, and gained many fresh adherents to his views.

An agitation was zealously carried on, public opinion was aroused, the newspaper press, ministers of the Gospel, magistrates and officials, were all enlisted in favour of the Suppression of Juvenile Mendicancy and the Reformation of Juvenile Criminals, and society was brought to recog-

nise the truth of the old motto, that prevention is better than cure, and that it is a far easier process to train the child than to reform the man.

The Parliamentary Session of 1854 did not, however, appear to offer much prospect of social legislation. The air was full of war and rumours of war. Nevertheless, Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Adderley persevered, but without the success that attended Lord Robert Grosvenor, who brought in, and carried, a Bill for "The Provision, Regulation, and Maintenance of County Industrial Schools in Middlesex." This Bill met, in some measure, the object of the two other Bills, inasmuch as under it, criminals of various degrees might be committed by magistrates to an industrial school for a term of years. But a partial Act for a single county did not satisfy the prevailing desire for a more thorough and comprehensive scheme. Whereupon, Lord Palmerston, then Home Secretary, who had the faculty of seeing when the nation had made up its mind on any question, took the matter in hand, endeavoured to reconcile the somewhat conflicting views of various politicians and philanthropists, and produced, on June the 19th, 1854, a "Youthful Offenders Bill," which, after passing successfully and rapidly through both Houses, received the Royal assent on August the 10th. In the preparation and passage of that Bill, Lord Shaftesbury lent invaluable aid, and brought to bear all the resources of his long experience and practical wisdom.

The preamble of the Bill set forth, "That whereas Reformatory Schools have been, and may be established

by voluntary agency in various parts of the country, it is expedient that more extensive use should be made of these institutions." When a school was certified as fit for the purpose, the Act provided that, on conviction, after a short imprisonment of a fortnight or less, the child should enter the school and remain for a term of years under the sole charge of the managers. Each child was to be paid for by the Treasury at the fixed rate of six shillings a week. If the parents of a child were in a position to afford it, a portion of the cost was to be recovered from them. Counties and boroughs might furnish money from their funds, to aid in the establishment of reformatory schools.

As a consequence of this Act, the number of these schools went up to 34 in 1856, to 45 in 1857, and to 59 in 1860, and during that period there was a marked decline in juvenile mendicancy and juvenile delinquency clearly traceable to their operation.

From the rush and whirl of ordinary life Lord Shaftesbury was in the habit of taking occasional refuge abroad. The change to the Continent presented great attractions to Lady Shaftesbury, and he was always anxious to please her. Thus in January, 1853, we find him in Italy, and in September of the same year in France and Switzerland. Unlike the majority of travellers, however, each successive journey on the Continent introduced him to fresh fields of labour and opened up fresh channels for practical sympathy.

Jan. 23rd.—Sunday. Turin. Saw yesterday Pasteur Meille, of the Waldenses, and that Christian soldier and confessor, Gen. Beckwith.

Talk of self-devotion, indeed, among the Papists! who has exhibited so much as this man in his prolonged life of thirty years among 'the saints' of the valleys? Saw, too, the church of the Waldenses, rising in one of the finest positions in Turin!

Jan. 24th.—Genoa. Attended yesterday Italian service at two o'clock, and heard the Waldensian Pasteur Meille. O Lord, that I should have lived to witness and to hear such a thing in such a place! What would have been the feelings of old Milton?

> 'Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
> Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold!'

They are avenged, and in the way that they themselves would have desired it, by the Word of God having 'free course, and being glorified, in the very capital of their fiercest persecutors! An overflowing congregation, a touching service, a heart-inspiring hymn.

In the evening at eight o'clock, Desanctis (a Romish priest once, now a Christian presbyter) preached to the people. He is a great man, a good man, a Christian man. Well may we say, with devout and humble thankfulness, 'many kings and prophets have desired to see the things that ye see, and have not seen them!'

But all hangs on a thread! Who shall catch it if it falls?—'fear not,' 'underneath are the everlasting arms.' 'The event may be retarded,' says the excellent Meille; 'persecutions may arise, but the foundation of the Church is laid.' God will soon give us the top-stone, crying, 'Grace, grace be unto it!' After morning service, met Desanctis and Malan, a Deputy to the Chamber, and a Waldensian. Much confidential and comfortable talk (it was at Meille's lodgings). We agreed that we should now make a great effort for additional circulation of the Scriptures, but avoid a very public statement, even in England, of our hopes, our progress, our intentions. 'The *laws* are still against us; they are still unrepealed; they are the laws of the Middle Ages, and are not brought into harmony with the Constitution. Hence our danger; the judges, who are bigoted adherents to the old system, try all religious causes with closed doors, and test the case by the *Code* and not by the Constitution. There is a strong reactionary party, who, were they in power, could, and would crush us by the existing laws of the kingdom. We have, in fact, under Heaven, nothing but the good dispositions of the actual Ministry!'

It was agreed that I should call on Count Cavour, the Prime Minister. I did so, and sought him everywhere, but in vain; so I wrote him a letter which Perponcher, the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires, undertook to deliver to him. Stated that 'I had been most anxious, as an Englishman, to testify my gratitude, and that of my country, for his good-will to the Vaudois Church; that we watched the progress of religious and constitutional liberty with deep interest; that England was alive to the welfare of Sardinia; and that if anything could rouse us, it would be any menace directed to its conduct and independencies. I then expressed my desire to have learned from him how to explain the long-continued discrepancy between the laws and the Constitution; how Mr. Mazzinglia could be sentenced (as he was a few days ago at Genoa) to three years' imprisonment for having given a copy of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians; that we in England could never understand which was to prevail, the old law or the new Constitution.' I then added my personal respect for his character, talents, &c.

Thus Mazzinglia is condemned, and can be set at liberty by the prerogative only of the King *by a pardon*. Thus all is imperfect; nothing is secured; the whole edifice might to-morrow be thrown down! and yet it will not fall; 'it is founded on a rock.' God has already blessed Sardinia for the Church's sake. Oh that this people knew the secret of their strength!

Saw Perponcher—much agreeable and useful conversation with him. I bless God that I have been to Turin; and I pray Him to render my visit fruitful to His honour and the Church's service!

Jan. 29th.—Nice again. Last night to Hudson (Minister at Turin) at the Feder. To meet Mammiani, for a short time the Pope's Prime Minister under the Constitution at Rome, now a refugee. He seems a wise, intelligent man, and anxious for the regeneration of Italy.

Feb. 2nd.—Engaged for two days in devising schemes of Bible diffusion. Struck out the plan of peripatetic schoolmasters, as in Ireland. God in His mercy prosper it!

Count Cavour's reply to Lord Shaftesbury's letter, referred to above, was as follows:—

Count Cavour to Lord Shaftesbury.

28 *Janvier*, 1853.

Milord,—J'ai vivement regretté de n'avoir pas eu l'honneur de faire votre connaissance personnelle lors de votre séjour à Turin. Je ne me doutais qu'il dût etre de si courte durée, aussi ai-je été aussi surpris que faché lorsqu'on m'a dit à l'hotel où étiez descendu le lendemain du jour que vous aviez passé chez moi que vous veniez de partir.

J'ose me flatter que si j'avais eu l'avantage de causer quelque temps avec V. S., il m'eut été facile de lui expliquer les causes de la contradiction qui existe encore entre les principes sur lesquels repose la constitution, et certains articles du code penal. Le statut fut l'œuvre spontanée du Roi Charles Albert, prince généreux et magnanime, mais en même animé d'un zèle ardent pour la religion catholique. Tant qu'il a vecu on n'a pas pu songer à développer les germes de liberté religieuse que presque à son insu on avait glissé dans la constitution. Après sa mort tous les ministères que se sont succédé ont travaillé a faire pénétrer l'esprit de liberté dans toutes les parties de la législative. Mais les obstacles de toute nature qu'ils ont rencontré, les ménagements que les conditions politiques du pays lui empressaient les ont forcé à proceder avec une grande prudence et beaucoup de lenteur.

Le gouvernement a réformé '*bit by bit.*' Le ministère actuel continuera l'œuvre de ses prédécesseurs; vous avez pu juger de ses intentions par le discours prononcé par le garde des sceaux lors de la discussion à laquelle a donné lieu l'affaire Massingley.

J'espère que vous approuverez cette marche prudente. N'est ce pas d'ailleurs celle qu'a tenue l'Angleterre qui n'a jamais adopté le système des *sweeping reforms.*

Elle nous a réussi jusqu'à présent. Puisqu'au milieu du torrent reactionnaire qui paraissait devoir tout importer sur le continent, les jeunes libertés de notre pays sont demeurées intactes.

Je remercie votre seigneurie de ce qu'elle a bien voulu m'adresser d'obligeant et d'aimable. L'approbation d'hommes qui comme vous ont consacré leur vie au service de l'humanité et à la cause des classes les plus intéressantes de la société, est la plus précieuse récompense que puisse obtenir un homme d'état.

Je prie votre seigneurie d'agréer l'assurance de ma haute considération.

C. Cavour.

The two following extracts were written in the autumn, during Lord Shaftesbury's tour in France and Switzerland :—

September 5th.—Every step that one takes on the Continent gives a fresh proof of the vast superiority of the foreigner in all matters of taste and design (except that of gardening) to the English people. Not only their public buildings, but their ordinary dwellings, the hotels, the shops, their minute ornaments, their dress, all the things they make—their railway carriages, their refreshment-rooms, their stations—name what you will, all exhibit a refinement and purity of conception, generally diffused, which are not found even in our great architects and modellers. Struck yesterday by the defective result of English preaching. The sermon was good, and apparently sincere; but it was delivered, like ninety-nine sermons out of a hundred by English ministers, in a cold, monotonous, sing-song uniformity. The preacher was stiff as a May-pole; and his discourse flowed clear, steady, unbroken and unvaried by voice or gesture, like the water from a lion's mouth. Not so the foreigner; he is fervent, imaginative, utters as much by his gestures as by his tongue, and maintains attention by the variety of his tones. He is an intermittent spring; and his auditors wait with impatience for the next gush of the lively stream.

September 12th.—In talking with French, Swiss, and German Protestants, I feel that, however unanimous we may be in appearance, there are, ever in their minds, two broad, deep foundations of actual alienation of heart—our monarchical institutions and our Established Church. They say nothing hostile; they receive in a friendly manner our sympathy and co-operation, but the sentiment transpires from time to time. It is the love of equality, inborn and inherent in the French Protestants, whose persecutions were oftentimes owing to the belief of their republican opinions; inborn and inherent, naturally enough, in the Swiss, and borrowed, but eagerly adopted, by the Germans. But this love of equality is no more sincere and consistent among these religious Protestants than among the worldly of our own land and elsewhere. The notion of equality is, as Dr. Johnson said, to level *down*, not to level *up*, to themselves. From none will you hear such denunciations of the democrats in Switzerland, and the rabble of France.

It was while Lord Shaftesbury was in Italy that the ladies of America replied to his proposed address, the draft only of which he had sent to the *Times*, the address itself not having yet been signed. Their reply, published in the papers, evaded the whole question, and "recriminated with paupers, London poor, needlewomen, India, Cape of Good Hope, and every true and every false statement of the last thirty years." To this reply Lord Shaftesbury immediately sent to the *Times* a full rejoinder.

A few days afterwards he wrote :—

June 26th.—If we see only as man seeth, the hopes of the 'blacks' are utterly crushed. Their friends seem beaten in U S.; the ministers of religion, episcopal and presbyterian, are either hostile or silent; the commercial spirit is over-riding humanity; and the Senate—'the august Senate,' as Bright calls it—*the creature* and *representative of free men*, has voted, by a majority of 36 to 6, that no advocate of abolition, although one of their members, shall be allowed to sit on any committee! And yet my impression is that the thing is drawing to a close; the darkest moment, when the help of man is visibly impotent, when all the powers of Satan seem developed and confirmed, God interposes for His people; and so He will here.

Almost immediately upon his return to England, Lord Shaftesbury entered heart and soul into the anti-slavery agitation, whose centre was at Stafford House, and, after himself, whose moving spirit was the Duchess of Sutherland.

March 25th, Good Friday.—Began a movement for the evangelisation of the fugitive slaves settled in Canada. It is a natural, necessary, and becoming consequence of our movement for emancipation. They are utterly friendless and forgotten.

May 7th.—To-day Mrs. Stowe received at Stafford House by the

Duchess of Sutherland and the two committees; it was a singular and most useful gathering. We had every rank of life, every form of opinion, political and religious—bishops, dissenting ministers, tradespeople, peers, Quakers, and the wives of all. The homage was general; and every one seemed delighted with the soft, earnest, simplicity of her manner and language.

May 13th.—Mrs. Stowe dined with us here last night, and all her party; very successful. I rejoice, as a peacemaker, to have brought together the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Rev. Thomas Binney, a flaming Dissenter. After dinner we had many Dissenters, many clergy, the Editor of the *Patriot* newspaper, Josiah Conder, shopkeepers, lawyers, peers, &c. &c., all with their ladies. It was quite 'a happy family'; and every one seemed mightily pleased.

May 17th.—St. Giles's. Last night overflowing meeting at Exeter Hall (I in the chair) on Anti-Slavery. Zeal tremendous; satisfied I was, for a wonder, with my own speech, more so probably than anybody else.

June 22nd.—My campaign for the niggers is both laborious and expensive. We want more shoulders and more purses to the work.

In course of time, the "Address" to the women of America went forth, signed by tens of thousands of the women of England. It was replied to by Mrs. Tyler, wife of the ex-President, who pointed out to the Duchess of Sutherland and her co-signatories, where fitting objects for their sympathy might be found. "Leave it," she said, "to the women of the South to alleviate the sufferings of their dependents, while you take care of your own. The negro of the South lives sumptuously, in comparison with a hundred thousand of your white population in London."

While Lord Shaftesbury was engaged in this Anti-Slavery campaign, many of the American papers attacked him with great severity, and urged him to "look at

home" and consider the condition of the working classes of his own country. The ire of an editor of one of the "religious" papers of the South, was greatly roused, and in an angry article he wrote: "And who is this Earl of Shaftesbury? Some unknown lordling; one of your modern philanthropists suddenly started up to take part in a passing agitation. It is a pity he does not look at home. Where was he when Lord Ashley was so nobly fighting for the Factory Bill, and pleading the cause of the English slave? We never even heard the name of this Lord Shaftesbury *then*."

Lord Shaftesbury loved a good joke, and he often related this story with infinite merriment.

In religious circles, one of the most engrossing subjects of thought, and fruitful fields for action, was China. A political and social revolution had commenced in that country, which was regarded as an event more momentous than any that had occurred previously in the history of Protestant Missions, and the hope was entertained, that the downfall of idolatry and the establishment of Christianity throughout the Chinese empire, would be ultimately ensured. The leaders of the insurrection openly denounced the whole ancient system of superstition; a great change was being effected in the minds of the people; isolation and exclusiveness were no longer the national boast; goodwill and fraternity were being proclaimed to distant nations. "That populous empire,' Lord Shaftesbury wrote in his Diary on July the 20th, "hitherto hermetically sealed against intercourse, reciprocity, and civilisation, seems, like Jericho, to have

been compassed about seven days, and awaits only the final shout, when the walls shall fall down flat and the servants of God take possession."

No one was readier than Lord Shaftesbury to see an opportunity, and avail himself of it. Now was the time to send out additional missionaries; now was the time to circulate freely the Holy Scriptures. It was the jubilee year of the Bible Society, and it was resolved by the Committee to give to the people of China, in their own tongue, a million copies of the New Testament. To this and other plans for reaching the people Lord Shaftesbury gave invaluable aid. The opening up of China opened up to him a boundless vista—"the beginning of the end."

Sept. 3rd.—The *Times* is overflowing with surprise, and cannot account for it, that the prodigious revolution in China has been effected in so short a time, and by so easy means. No one who has studied the 2nd Book of Chronicles, studied, I say, not simply read, can doubt that, when the end vastly exceeds the means, and the work is strikingly disproportionate to the instrument, 'the thing is of God;' it is the result of His own immediate and direct interposition. Was there ever such a political event as the rebellion of the Ten Tribes? Was there ever one so contrary to all human experience, all human reasoning, all human policy? But 'this thing is done of me,' said God by the prophet; and so He would say now, did He vouchsafe to speak, as of old, to men upon earth. I see it, I see it, surely I see it; the Gospel will be offered where, in truth, it has never yet been fairly offered, in China and Japan; it will then have been 'preached for a witness to all nations,' and then will 'the end come!' 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.'

The efforts being made by the Bible Society for the evangelisation of China, were seconded by those of the

London Missionary Society. They called together a special meeting for the purpose of raising funds to send out additional missionaries, and invited Lord Shaftesbury to take the chair. He willingly responded, and commenced a vigorous speech by saying: "This matter commends itself to the judgment and feeling of every man who cares, in the least degree, for the welfare of the human race. It requires neither statement nor argumentation; an actual reality is before us; the old wall of superstition is broken down; the empire of China with its three hundred millions, is opened to our efforts; the breach, so to speak, is practicable; the citadel is to be stormed, not by the potentates and armies of Europe, but by Protestant agents, by a noble rivalry of Protestant missions from every part of the civilised globe, and of every evangelical denomination."

Dec. 1st.—Yesterday chair of London Missionary Society in aid of their Missions to China. Shall, I suppose, give great offence to my friends in the Establishment; sorry for it; but the cause is too holy, too catholic, too deeply allied with the single name of Christ, for any considerations of Church system and Episcopal rule. These things are, to my mind, good in their places, but their places are bounded by time and space; the Cause knows nothing but universality and eternity. What is the meaning of 'Grace be with all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity'? Did not Morrison, Milne, Medhurst, Moffat, Williams, love Him? If grace, then, was with those men, shall I, vile man, presume to say that *I will not be* with them also?

Sanitary reform in the metropolis had become, in every sense of the term, a vital question, and the years 1852 and 1853 were marked by several measures of

great utility. Among them were the "Metropolis Water Act," by which it was provided that no water supplied for domestic use should be taken from any part of the Thames below Teddington Lock; the "Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis," giving authority to the Secretary of State to order, for the protection of the public health, that any particular burial-ground should be closed, and that any parish should have power to take certain simple steps for procuring a new cemetery; the Compulsory Vaccination Act; the Smoke Abatement Nuisance Act, and others.

Every fresh measure in the direction of sanitation, brought, directly or indirectly, fresh labour to the Board of Health, and every fresh burden laid upon that ill-used and long-suffering Board, brought to Lord Shaftesbury, in particular, anxiety, toil, and annoyance.

April 29th, 1852.—Great motion in House of Lords on sanitary state of the metropolis. Carried the point and had passable success.

May 14th.—The *Times* has taken up the note of the undertakers, the water-companies, the Parliamentary agents, and the whole tribe of jobbers who live on the miseries of mankind and are hunting the Board of Health through brake and briar, and hope to be 'in at the death!' Be it so: if we fall, not a body will be left to shout 'unclean, unclean!' and form, and guide, and impel, public opinion. Matters will become worse and worse. I tremble for the issue. Walked yesterday to review my old haunts in Westminster, and look at the wretched children in Pye Street; sick, sick, sick, to see how little years of labour had done.

Nov. 17th.—Grieved to learn that not only nothing is done by the Government, but that the Ministers will take good care that nothing shall be done by any one else; the Board of Health is to be destroyed; its sin, is its unpardonable activity.

Dec. 31st.—So Sir W. Molesworth is to be our new Master at the Board of Health! What mortifications I have undergone in this service! And will this endurance be blessed at last, or will our enemies succeed in destroying the only institution that stands for the physical and social improvement of the people? Our foes are numerous, and I dread their success; it would vex me beyond expression to see Chadwick and Southwood Smith sent to the right-about, and the Board, which, under God, has done and has conceived so many good things, broken up.

The "unpardonable activity" of the Board had, in fact, brought it into unavoidable collision with every interest of magnitude. Referring to this, Lord Shaftesbury says:—

August 9th, 1853.—It is not wonderful, though sad, when we remember the interests that it has been our duty to approach and handle. We roused all the Dissenters by our Burial Bill, which, after all, failed.

The parliamentary agents are our sworn enemies, because we have reduced expenses, and, consequently, their fees, within reasonable limits.

The civil engineers also, because we have selected able men, who have carried into effect new principles, and at a less salary.

The College of Physicians, and all its dependencies, because of our independent action and singular success in dealing with the cholera, when we maintained and proved that many a Poor Law medical officer knew more than all the flash and fashionable doctors of London.

All the Boards of Guardians: for we exposed their selfishness, their cruelty, their reluctance to meet and to relieve the suffering poor, in the days of the epidemic.

The Treasury besides; (for the subalterns there hated Chadwick; it was an ancient grudge, and paid when occasion served).

Then come the water companies, whom we laid bare, and devised a method of supply, which altogether superseded them.

The Commissioners of Sewers, for our plans and principles were the reverse of theirs; they hated us with a perfect hatred

Occasionally, hope revived that the Board of Health might yet be the appointed means of further sanitary triumphs. With Palmerston for Home Secretary, Lord Shaftesbury thought that not only would the Board be saved from destruction, but that new life would be given to it. "I have never known any Home Secretary," he wrote, "equal to Palmerston for readiness to undertake every good work of kindness, humanity, and social good, especially to the child and the working class. No fear of wealth, capital, or election-terrors; prepared at all times to run a-tilt if he could do good by it. Has already done more than ten of his predecessors." But these anticipations were not destined to be very fully realised.

Aug. 19th.—Palmerston has undertaken, and apparently with success, several of our Board of Health measures. I rejoice in his efforts, but cannot give him, except for good will, all the praise bestowed by the *Times*. We, unfortunate people, having 'borne the burthen and heat of the day,' having collected all the evidence, having stirred the public attention, having incurred all the odium, receive no support from the Government, and consequently fail. He, having borne and done nothing of the kind, but being the Secretary of State, succeeds! But observe how he ignores *our* considerations and difficulties, and cuts the Gordian knot by enacting whatever is easy, and omitting whatever is the reverse; *we* laboured our hearts out to give compensation to the clergy; *he* gives them none. *We* devised a long and intricate scheme to lower, for the poorer sort, the expense of interments; *he* orders extramural burial, and leaves the artisan to meet the increased cost as well as he can! Alas! alas! success is not what you do, but what people say of it, and they are almost always too ignorant, or too indifferent, to judge rightly.

Towards the end of the year it became manifest that the days of the Board of Health were numbered,

and that some "cold, idle, comfortless, do-little office" would be set up in its stead. It was a positive grief to Lord Shaftesbury, who, as he said, had given to it "five years of his life and intense labour, and had not received even the wages of a pointer, with 'that's a good dog.'"

It was not until the summer of 1854, however, that the crisis came, and it is referred to thus:—

July 29th, 1854.—Palmerston will not hear of my resigning; nor will I of remaining, unless on grounds very intelligible. This public service is a hard, ungrateful thing. My remuneration has been that usually allotted to monkeys—more kicks than halfpence.

July 31st.—No choice of resigning or remaining; the House of Commons threw out the Bill this day. . . . Thus after five years of intense and unrewarded labour I am turned off like a piece of lumber! Such is the public service. Some years hence, if we are remembered, justice may be done to us; but not in our lifetimes. I have never known a wrong by the public, redressed so that the sufferer could enjoy the reparation, for

> "Nations slowly wise and meanly just,
> To buried merit raise the tardy bust."

Aug. 5th.—On Thursday last gave a dinner, by way of farewell, to the Board of Health, the commissioners, doctors, engineers, clerks, secretary, seventeen in all. We part very good friends.

Aug. 12th.—On Thursday last Board Bill received the Royal assent, and the old Board was extinguished. We have left no arrears of business; our successor will have all before him; he will not be required to give five minutes to arrears on our period of office. Thus have closed six years of very hard and gratuitous service. I may say, with old George III. on the admission of American Independence. 'It may possibly turn out well for the country, *but as a gentleman I can never forget it.*'

Lord Shaftesbury wrote constantly in his Diary throughout the year 1853 on the progress of Democracy,

Republicanism, and levelling opinions. He traced it, not so much to the general desire of the people, or to the influence of the press, but to the operation of commercial causes and money-making ambition. Landed property was being regarded apart from all notions of ancestral feeling, of attachment to hereditary estates, of long connections between property and peasantry, and was looked upon merely as a negotiable article of merchandise, to be sold and shifted with as little of affection and difficulty as a five-pound note.

July 26th.—This is the worst form of republican indifference to the generous elements of antiquity. But more: younger children must no longer receive annuities and portions, but must each have a slice of the landed estate. In two generations, then, every property would be subdivided; the landed interest, as a distinct and powerful body, would be extinguished, and the House of Lords rendered impossible, for it can never subsist, except as an independent body—independent by the wealth of its individual members, having hereditary rights, but also hereditary property.

August 22nd.—The atmosphere of political principles and institutions is decidedly democratic in the present day, and men are borne on against their wishes to democratic results. What is it? Is it by our own folly, or that of our ancestors? Is it the cycle of the principle of government, like the recurring periods of drought, famine, plenty, health, and disorder? Or is it the will of God that every form should have its day, and then perish? Aristocracy exists on the Continent by the sword; in England by sufferance. Which will have the longer duration—the obedience of the soldier, or the patience of the ten-pound householder?

It is observable that not an appreciable fraction of the people of England desire the abolition of the King and the peerage; and yet, by degrees, rapid degrees, they will come to it, and be astonished beyond measure when the work is irremediable. So it appears; but

we may yet, in the mercy of God, be reserved, institutions and all, for higher things.

Sept. 13th.—The year 1848 was the climax of our odiousness to the foreigners. They will never forgive us for the calm, the security, the assurance with which our monarchical and aristocratical institutions withstood the shock that affected, in Europe, monarchies and republics alike. They praise us and abhor us.

Sept. 14th.—Mischief and subversion are the main objects of the Radicals of England. They have not, they cannot have, a just plea for their policy. We may think and speak differently of cultivated Revolutionists, who have deep grievances and mighty impediments in the way of amelioration. But civil and religious liberty are complete with us; the people have not a wrong unredressed, nor the Radicals a right unattained, and yet their spirit is that of Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, and Kossuth.

On October the 25th, Mr. Richard Cobden, in the course of an address delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, at Barnsley, spoke very strongly on education, as an all-important means of elevating the poorer classes. He said: "Take the question of sanitary reform. Why do people live in bad cellars surrounded by filth and disease? You may say it is their poverty, but their poverty comes as much from their ignorance as their vices; and their vices often spring from their ignorance. The great mass of the people don't know what the sanitary laws are; they don't know that ventilation is good for health; they don't know that the miasma of an unscavenged street or impure alley is productive of cholera and disease. If they did know these things, people would take care that they inhabited better houses; and if people were only more careful in their habits than they are, and husbanded their means, they might get into better houses. And when I hear people

advocate temperance, which I, as one of the most temperate men in the world, always like to hear advocated, I say the best way is, to afford them some other occupation or recreation than that which is derived only through their senses. The best way is to give them education. If the working man is deprived of those recreations, which consist of the intellectual and moral enjoyments that education and good training give, he naturally falls into the excitement of sensual indulgence, because excitement all human beings must have. Therefore, when you wish to make them more temperate, and secure moral and sanitary and social improvements among the working classes, education, depend upon it, must be at the bottom of it all." *

A few days afterwards there appeared in the columns of the leading journal a letter from Lord Shaftesbury commenting on the above remarks.

He was alarmed lest the weight of Mr. Cobden's authority should retard all effort at sanitary improvements by leading the public to infer that nothing could be done until a better and more extensive system of popular education was instituted. But that, as matters stood, though it could not fail altogether, would help but little. The artisans might, each and all of them, be an Arago or a Watt, capable of squaring the circle or inventing a steam-engine, and yet they would have no power of selecting their dwellings; they must live near their work, and face every danger, seen and unseen, for they could not flee from it. The working

* *Times*, October 27th, 1853.

man of high attainments, in the prime of life, decent, temperate, industrious, capable of earning his thirty shillings a week, would take the best house he could find within the prescribed limits; but such was often the state of drainage and ventilation around, that it prepared his deathbed in a few months and left his wife and children a burden on the public. From this text Lord Shaftesbury, in very forcible language, urged his views as to the national duty of providing proper house accommodation for the poor.

Until this was done, education became an impossibility, as, to be worth anything, it must be completed by a man's own self, in the peaceful evening leisure of a cleanly, decent, and suitable home. Intemperance was, doubtless, a prime cause of mischief among the labouring classes, but intemperance was greatly promoted by the exhausting, enfeebling effects of perpetual residence in noxious and mephitic vapours. In conclusion, he said:—

> Let domiciliary improvements go along with education; and then, if temperance be added to the average earnings of the working classes, there remains no human reason that I can see, why our people should have any to blame but themselves if they do not live like Christian citizens and die as aspirants to immortality.

Having glanced at some of the public events in which Lord Shaftesbury was concerned during this year, we now turn to the Diary to extract some passages relating more immediately to himself.

In reviewing the work in which his life was being spent, he says:—

April 6th.—Many Bills in hand. *Times* sneers at me, and speaks of my 'restless benevolence.' But why am I rest*less*? Because others are rest*ful*.

April 7th.—Engaged more than ever: small works compared with the political and financial movements of the day—a Lodging-House, a Ragged School, a Vagrant Bill, a Thieves' Refuge! No wonder that people think me as small as my work; and yet I would not change it. *Surely God has called me to the career.*

June 12th, Sunday.—'With all your experience' (I imagine some young man saying to me), 'would you counsel me to follow the career that you have chosen and pursued?' In the first place, I reply that, in spite of all vexations, disappointments, rebuffs, insults, toil, self-denial, expense, weariness, sickness, all loss of political position, and considerable loss of personal estimation—in spite of being always secretly despised, and often publicly ignored—in spite of having your 'evil' most maliciously and ingeniously exaggerated, and your 'good' 'evil spoken of'—I would, for myself, say 'Yes.'

June 13th.—But what would you counsel to another? I should advise him to consider maturely what he desired. If he desired to rise in the world, to have a party, to be much thought of, to be a great man at Court or in politics, I should say 'No.' If he desired internal satisfaction, that humble joy through Almighty God (amidst ten thousand vexations) that attend you in retirement and in thoughtfulness, I say emphatically 'Yes.'

June 29th.—Harassed by public and private business. My heart goes so completely into every question, that I fret like one possessed. Chimney-sweepers, juvenile mendicants, '*et hoc genus omne*.' Speeches and Chairs without end. But all is not vain; I am reaping a harvest. Is it because, in God's mercy, I have not fainted? The working of the Ten-Hours' Bill is peace, wealth, and happiness, social order, and moral improvement.

An impression prevailed that, because Lord Shaftesbury had succeeded to the earldom, and possessed large landed estates, he must necessarily be a very wealthy man. As a matter of fact, he was, as we have already hinted, for the greater part of his life, in

such circumstances, that only by exercising the utmost care was he able to escape from distressing financial difficulties. "Heroism" is not too large a word to employ with reference to the long, hard battle he fought, in his endeavour to fulfil the apostolic injunction, to which he often refers, and to "owe no man anything, but to serve him in the Lord." In estimating the extreme difficulty of his position, it must be remembered that his whole life was spent under the eye of the public; that an adverse press was ever eager to find a ground of attack upon him; that as a leader in every charitable organisation of the day, he could not urge upon others to be liberal and not give freely himself; and that, identified as he was with every movement on behalf of the poor, the demands upon his private charity were almost incredible in number and extent. When Lord Shaftesbury put down his name on a subscription-list, he did not "offer to the Lord that which cost him nothing," he offered that which cost him self-denial, self-sacrifice, and anxiety.

One of the greatest troubles that could befall him, was to find himself unable to give pecuniary aid to a deserving cause. He was willing to make any sacrifice, to leave himself almost entirely without resources, in order to give to those who had need; and if, on any occasion he was obliged to say "no," it was a positive pain to him. A little incident in illustration may be narrated here. A lady called upon him one day, and told him a piteous story of a Polish refugee who was in a state of utter destitution. She had a dread of

asking Lord Shaftesbury for money, because she knew him well, and knew how pressing were the demands made upon him from all quarters. She told her story, however, and left the issue with him.

"Dear me!" he said, "what is to be done? I have not a farthing. But the poor fellow must have something at once. What can I do?"

He was as agitated and distressed as though some strong personal trouble affected him. Then a bright idea flashed through his mind: he suddenly remembered that in the library he had got a £5 note "in reserve as a nest egg," and bringing it in, with an air of infinite delight, he begged his visitor not to delay a moment in conveying it to the man in need.

In quoting from Lord Shaftesbury's Diaries passages —which, it must be remembered, he never intended when writing them should come before the public eye—relating to his monetary affairs, we prefer to incur the censure of any who may consider this beyond the province of the biographer, rather than to lose the opportunity of showing him in the midst of circumstances in which he was misjudged and misunderstood because his real financial position was not known.

May 24th.—Made up my mind; must sell old family pictures, must sell old family estates; it is painful; ancestral feelings are very strong with me; but it is far better to have a well-inhabited, well-cottaged property, people in decency and comfort, than well-hung walls which persons seldom see, and almost never admire unless pressed to do so; and as for estates, why, it is ruin to retain them in the face of mortgage, debt, and the necessary provision for your children!

May 28th.—Sent to St. Giles's for two more pictures to be sold. The house is falling, and must be repaired; will not do it from any fund or revenue by which monies devoted to religion, charity, or cottage building, would be diverted. Must therefore surrender more heirlooms, dismantle my walls, check ancestral feeling, and thank God that it is no worse. . .

These lawyers are harpies; they may act honestly, as, I doubt not, mine have done, according to the acknowledged custom, but it is a custom, one imagined, introduced, and perpetrated by harpies. These lawyers multiply business, and charge prodigiously for every step of it; they send in their accounts very seldom, so that the client has no notion of the expense he is incurring by a series of apparently small items, little suspecting that every question gives rise, perhaps, to a dozen letters, and each letter costing as many pounds; and then, when the account does come in, no man that has lived, does live, or will live, can check it. Who, at the distance of two or three years, can say whether he asked such and such a question, received such and such an answer, saw A. B., was seen by C. D., &c. &c., over a statement of minute details, covering, as mine does, some forty folio pages? They lure you on in your ignorance, like Circe, and then turn you to a hog, a monkey, a bat, and certainly a fool! Now this is terrible; what shall I do for schools, cottages, churches?

June 29th.—To build cottages is nearly as ruinous as to gild your saloons; it is an enormous expenditure, and no rent. A pair of cottages cost me four hundred pounds, and the rent I receive from them is £2 10s., or at most £3, for each cottage, garden included.

The following entries, relating to a variety of subjects, are selected from the Diary which, during this year, was singularly free from gaps.

April 14th.—Took Lionel * to-day to Harrow; saw him comfortably and happily housed at Mr. Warner's. Ah, Lord, I commit him unto Thee in body and soul; preserve him, cherish him, make him and dearest Evelyn Thy servants, that they may walk before Thee

* His third son.

with a perfect heart in Christ Jesus our only Saviour! Visited the grave of my blessed Francis; there he was deposited four years ago; he neither sleeps nor is dead; his body is there, but his soul is in Paradise. I no more doubt it than I doubt my own existence, and 'them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him.' What a wonderful thing is the Christian religion! it makes us to see and to feel that a stroke of death is oftentimes one of the tenderest of God's mercies!

Saw, too, the 'testimonial;'—the schools erected to his memory. Oh, may I die the death of the righteous, and may my last end be like his!

April 26th.—Have now before me these tedious and wearing May meetings; the repetition of 'the speech from the Chair,' the same sentiments, almost the same words, amounts to nausea in the utterance. Do not object to hear, but loathe to speak. They do good, however, and let that suffice.

May 3rd.—The House of Commons is the depository of power, and it is vain to hope to be an *effective* man out of it. You may experience much social civility, but no one accords you a hair's-breadth of political influence. 'Philanthropy,' combined with a peerage, reduces a man to the lowest point.

May 7th.—Lionel, although he has been but three weeks at Harrow, has been already removed into the 6th Form, 'a thing,' as Evelyn writes, 'unparalleled in history.'

June 13th.—The fleet is gone to the Dardanelles! Oh, God, protect my son * in soul and body for Christ's sake!

August 10th.—Unless something be done, and that speedily, to give activity and vigour to the House of Lords it will sink into a mere registration office for the decrees of the House of Commons; Bills come up in a cloud in the month of August; 70 or 80 to be discussed and passed in a week! How can we do anything but simply inspect and register them? This must, God willing, be my first effort next Session. But what hope have I of success? The past Session has disheartened me.

August 13th.—When I went to the House of Lords I determined to show its activity and power in the institution of social improvements. I did not seek my own repute; I knew I was

* His eldest son.

injuring my own comfort, but I wished, so far as in me lay, to rescue the House from the character of the 'dormitory.' God knows it has been no 'dormitory' to me.

The two next entries were made during his annual tour on the Continent.

Sept. 18th.—Sunday. Geneva. A great steamboat, groaning with the number of passengers, left the quay this morning! This in the city of Calvin! I am not opposed to innocent recreation on the Lord's day, but no one has a right to make his own recreation on that day the burthen and affliction of another. That thousands may disport themselves on Sunday, hundreds must surrender, not only repose, but even, were they so minded, public worship! It cannot be just and well-pleasing to God.

Sept. 22nd.—Paris. *Times* of 17th declamatory, and justly, against rewards to agricultural labourers, of ten shillings and a new coat, for twenty years of good conduct. Made an attempt myself to introduce larger sums at the Blandford Labourers' Friend Society, but, though I wrote a year ago, I have received no answer. The agricultural labourer could greatly benefit his condition, were he inclined to a little care and economy; a young man, by the payment of sixpence a week, might secure to himself an annuity of twenty pounds a year, after sixty years of age.

Oct. 5th.—London. Progress fair at St. Giles's. Provisions very high, raised the wages of my people; will others do the same? Happy prospects of my drainage efforts; many labourers will be required; and if they labour diligently their wages will be good. All the men employed on the house desired a holiday, and they had it with cricket, football, quoits, &c.; bread, cheese, meat, beer, and apples in just quantity. They played the whole day, were in extravagant spirits; behaved admirably well, and went home perfectly sober. I confess it did my heart good to see them sharing with me, in due time and proportion, the enjoyment of the old park of my ancestors.

In the early autumn of this year there was a severe visitation of cholera throughout the country, and the

Presbytery of Edinburgh wrote, through their Moderator, to the Home Secretary (Lord Palmerston) asking whether, in the circumstances, a national fast would be appointed by Royal authority. The Home Secretary replied in a characteristic letter of such sterling common sense, that a part of it may be quoted here, as it illustrates the manner in which Lord Palmerston co-operated with Lord Shaftesbury, both working towards the same end, but by different means.

"The Maker of the Universe," Lord Palmerston replied, "has established certain laws of nature for the planet in which we live, and the weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance, or the neglect, of these laws. One of these laws connects health with the absence of those gaseous exhalations which proceed from over-crowded human dwellings, or from decomposing substances, whether animal or vegetable; and those same laws render sickness the almost inevitable consequence of exposure to those noxious influences. But it has, at the same time, pleased Providence to place it within the power of man to make such arrangements, as will prevent or disperse such exhalations so as to render them harmless, and it is the duty of man to attend to those laws of nature and to exert the faculties which Providence has thus given to man for his own welfare.

"The recent visitation of cholera, which has for the moment been mercifully checked, is an awful warning given to the people of this realm that they have too much neglected their duty in this respect, and those

persons with whom it rested to purify towns and cities, and to prevent, or remove, the causes of disease, have not been sufficiently active in regard to such matters. Lord Palmerston would therefore suggest, that the best course which the people of this country can pursue to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring, in planning and executing measures by which those portions of their towns and cities which are inhabited by the poorest classes, and which, from the nature of things, must most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion, which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence and be fruitful in death, in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation. When man has done his utmost for his own safety, then is the time to invoke the blessing of Heaven to give effect to his exertions."

Nov. 2nd.—London. Palmerston has refused a fast day in his answer to the Scotch Memorial, and, in such a style, that, though his letter contains abundant good sense and much truth, he will be regarded by the religious world as little better than an infidel. His notions and feelings theologically are feeble, no doubt, and erroneous; but he had no intention to be irreverent, though he has stirred up a nest.

Dec. 21st.—The "burking" system of the newspapers is more fatal and hostile than their attack. At conference I made a longish speech on various points which the *Times* reduces to this, 'Lord S. said that the children ought to be treated with justice and kindness;' and, shortly after, Mr. Sturge is made to say, in the same amount of words, that 'he could not agree with Lord S.'!!

CHAPTER XXII.

1854—1855.

A Cloud in the East—State of England—Rumours of War with Russia—War Declared—Christians in Turkey—Russian Intolerance—Letter from Lord Stanley—Letter to Lord Aberdeen—Letter from Lord Clarendon—Religious Liberty in France—Correspondence with Emperor of the French—M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Lord Palmerston—Offer of Order of the Garter—Reasons for Declining the Honour—Colonisation of Syria—Chimney Sweepers Bill Thrown Out—A Mothers' Meeting—Harrow—Death of Lord Jocelyn—Death of Duchess of Beaufort—Wild Court—War in a Christian Spirit—Lord Raglan's Despatches—Letter to Mr. Haldane—Mismanagement in the Crimea—Change of Ministry—Palmerston, Premier—Offer of Duchy of Lancaster—Correspondence thereon with Lord Palmerston—Letter from Lady Palmerston—Organisation of Sanitary Commission for Crimea—Letter to Lord Panmure—Instructions to the Sanitary Commissioners—Letter from Miss Florence Nightingale—Death of the Czar—Visit of Emperor of the French—Letter to Mr. Evelyn Ashley—Offer of Duchy of Lancaster Renewed—Letters from Lady Palmerston—In Perplexity—Interposition of Providence—Religious Worship Bill—Opposition of Lord Derby and the Bishop of Oxford—Success of the Bill—Sardinia—National Education—Death of Sir Robert Inglis—Milliners and Dressmakers—Death of his Son Maurice—Letter to Mr. Evelyn Ashley—Woburn Abbey—Life Peerages.

In 1853, the cloud that had long hung over the East was gathering blackness, and threatening to burst in storm. A dispute about the Holy places in Palestine, was the pretext upon which the peace of forty years was to be broken. Eight years previously, the Emperor of Russia had spoken of Turkey as "a dying man whose dissolution was at hand." On the 9th of January, 1853, the Emperor, in conversation with Sir G. Hamilton Seymour, explained his views in unmistakeable language.

"Turkey is falling to pieces," he said, "and it is important that England and Russia should come to a good understanding, that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprised." A little later on, he declared: "I tell you, if your Government has been led to believe that Turkey retains any element of existence, your Government must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying;" and he urged that England should join with Russia in making arrangements beforehand as to the inheritance of the Ottoman in Europe.

A few months later came the dispute about the Holy places; Turkey claimed that the only Protectorate over the Christians of Turkey was the Sultan's, and, although negociations innumerable were undertaken to adjust matters between the two Powers, the hope of maintaining peace grew fainter and fainter, and on the 1st of November, 1853, Russia declared war against Turkey.

Lord Shaftesbury's Diary follows the incidents of the war with great minuteness. We shall only extract occasional passages to mark the progress of events, and his opinions and actions with regard to them.

Aug. 16th, 1853.—England, in all her history, never combined before so many elements of material prosperity. We have survived the revolutionary shocks of the last half century, and of the last thirteen special years; we have a Sovereign to whose person and office the whole country is soberly, yet ardently, attached; we have an hereditary Peerage of a thousand years duration, esteemed, as yet, and admired by the people; and worthy, too, as compared with former or contemporaneous aristocracies, of the position it occu-

pies. There is a singular union, and mutual respect, of all classes; the highest, the middle, the lowest; never had we such a development and diffusion of wealth, comfort, security, among the labouring population: our army is powerful, our fleets unprecedented and unrivalled; and yet the whole kingdom seeks not aggression but Peace! What country ever enjoyed more liberty of thought, speech, and action? None in the records of the world!

Sept. 17th.—The Emperor of Russia has proudly and angrily rejected the Note of the Four Powers as altered by the Porte. The Turk is insane, and the Muscovite wicked, but he is a fool into the bargain. He has thrown away his character as the umpire of Europe; he has been guilty of sad aggression, has dealt in falsehoods, and, by commencing war, he will open up the means of insurrection, revolution, and socialism (the very bugbears of his life) to Italy, Poland, France, Hungary, and Germany.

Oct. 14th.—Brighton. We are in war and not in war; full of rumours, perils, protocols, negotiations. Drummond has written a clever letter to the Peace Society, in which he tells them that they desire peace, only that they may have leisure to make money; that if war would answer the purpose they would (he implies) like it as well, that they denounce Mars and Moloch, but worship Mammon, who, according to Milton, is the basest and meanest of them all!

Feb. 8th, 1854.—All seems beating up for conflict. The Czar, if not the wisest, must be the maddest of politicians. He is isolated in Europe; Austria and Prussia have refused their co-operation; the whole of Germany is indignant and ardent to get rid of Russian influence. I have always believed that the Emperor lived under the delusion that his authority was dominant at Berlin and Vienna. This rejection, therefore, will equally astound and exasperate him. My opinion was confirmed by a statement of Walewski's, that, when a short time ago, General Castelbaljac, French ambassador at St. Petersburg, hinted to Nesselrode, the probable objections of Austria, he received a half contemptuous answer that 'Austria and Russia were one.' Meanwhile Italy, Poland, Hungary, every place where there is no hope but in revolution, are agitated and expectant; just as we foresaw, so it is; the notion of war gives them a notion of opportunity; and the Austrians cannot move a regiment without exciting a district!

March 6th.—The event of the day is, to my mind, the speech of

the Emperor of the French to the Legislative Chamber. He there declares that, 'the days of conquest are passed,' never to return. He shows that France has a deeper interest than England, in repressing the power of Russia, and that the intimate alliance of these two countries, formerly such bitter rivals, is a noble impulse to civilisation. He has acted wonderfully well throughout; it would be wrong, nay, unjust, to suspect him; to have even a misgiving; and yet the change is so immense, his policy so unexpected, that one ought, for some time at least, to be upon one's guard.

In the Manifesto of the Emperor of Russia, dated February the 9th, 1854, in which he announced to his subjects the fact that England and France had taken up the cause of Turkey, these words occurred: "And thus England and France have ranged themselves by the side of the enemies of Christianity, against Russia fighting for the Orthodox Faith."

To allow this reproach to remain unanswered was painful to many Christians in England, and, on March the 10th, Lord Shaftesbury, as their mouthpiece, took the opportunity of a formal motion for papers on Turkish affairs, to address the House of Lords on the subject. On behalf of the friends of missions, he directly contradicted the assertion of the Czar, and undertook to prove that Turkey had, of late, done everything to advance, and Russia everything to retard, the progress of Christianity. After pausing to express his opinion that the negotiations had resulted in their only possible issue, he defended the necessity of "making alliance with any power, heathen though it may be, to maintain the cause of right, justice, and order, against the aggressions even of professing Christians," and to declare, that

the real question at issue was, whether we should "assert the rights of a weaker state, maintain the independence of nations, and endeavour to assign a limit to the encroachments of a power, that seemed bent upon darkening all that was light, and subjugating all that was free, among the nations of mankind." For himself he could wish that we were well rid of both the parties concerned—"that the Russians were driven to the North of Archangel, the Turks to the East of the Euphrates," but, in the circumstances, it was right "to prefer the autocrat who had granted such great facilities to the advancement of Christianity and civilisation, to the autocrat who had denied them in his own dominions, and who would deny them still more fiercely should he ever become, by our neglect, the master of those noble provinces that he so ardently coveted."

In tracing the gradual growth of wealth, intelligence, and civilisation amongst the Christians of Turkey, Lord Shaftesbury stated that, owing to the singular liberality of the Turkish system, there had been a large diffusion of the Scriptures; in fifty towns there were distinct congregations of seceders from the Greek Church; Protestant teachers and schools had multiplied, and, in capital and provinces, religious associations, printing presses, Bible depôts, colporteurs, and native teachers were openly permitted. There had been, it was true, outbreaks of Muslim bigotry, but these were local, and had been controlled by the Government; the chief persecutions of Christians had been inflicted by other Christians, stimulated by their priests. He continued:—

Now, contrast this with what is permitted or prohibited in Russia, and draw your inference as to what we have to expect should these awakening provinces fall under the dark and drowsy rule of the Czar. No associations for religious purposes are tolerated in Russia; no printing-presses are permitted for printing the Bible in modern Russ, the only language understood by the people; no versions of the Scriptures are allowed to cross the frontier except the German, French, Italian, and English. Not a single copy, I repeat, of the Bible in the modern Russ, in the vernacular tongue, can gain access into that vast empire; and it is believed, on the best evidence, that not a single copy has been printed, even in Russia, since 1823, in the tongue spoken by the people! No colporteurs, of course, nor native agents, to enlighten the gloomy provinces; no depôts for the sale of the Scriptures, no possible access to the Word of God.

Lord Shaftesbury then pointed out the tyranny of Russia, in siding with the Greek priests; in persecuting the seceders; in endeavouring to hinder Sir Stratford Canning, and other Ministers, in their labours to procure justice for the Protestants; in forbidding Jewish subjects to possess the Hebrew Scriptures, and in suppressing missionary efforts among heathen, or semi-savage, tribes on the outskirts of her empire; and contrasted the policy of Turkey in permitting and protecting missionary agencies, which had brought about a "great development of knowledge and liberal sentiment, enlarged hopes and aspirations, of the Christian population.

After extolling the comparatively liberal sentiments and policy of the preceding Czar, Alexander, Lord Shaftesbury concluded as follows:—

He died; and in 1826 the Emperor Nicholas ascended the throne. And what did he then do? He suppressed, by an ukase, the Russian Bible Society, with all its branches; suppressed every privilege granted to religious societies, and brought back that Cimmerian

darkness of the human intellect and the human heart, that he seems to prize so highly.

Has Turkey, I ask, done anything of the sort? Has she not, my Lords, in the last twenty years, allowed more to the progress of liberty and truth, than Russia in the whole of the famous nine hundred years that the emperor boasts as the present age of the alliance between the Sclavonic nations and the Greek communion? Undoubtedly she has; and this inference cannot be gainsaid—that, if the Sultan had been less liberal towards freedom of religion, less considerate of the rights of conscience, there would have been no Menschikoff note, and no invasion of the Principalities.

But now, my Lords, though these are not the matters for which we undertake the war, we may rejoice that we are not engaged in upholding a state of things adverse to all amelioration, and subversive of all liberty and truth. And, seeing that we have entered on this conflict in no spirit of ambition, covetousness, or pride, but for our own defence, and in the maintenance of great principles, which concern alike all the races of mankind, let us have no fear for the issue, but, offering a humble and hearty prayer to Almighty God, let us devoutly trust that His aid will not be wanting to bless our arms with success, and a speedy peace, in this just and inevitable quarrel.

The newspapers of March the 11th, the day following the delivery of this speech, contained this remarkable passage from the *St. Petersburg Journal* of the 18th of February:—

Since the year 1829, his Majesty has followed with earnest attention the march of events in Turkey.

The Emperor could not close his eyes to the consequences of changes which, one by one, have been introduced into that State. Old Turkey has disappeared since the Turkish Government has sought to plant institutions diametrically opposed to the genius of Islamism, and to the character and customs of Mahometans—*institutions, more or less copied from the type of modern Liberalism.*

Referring, in his Diary, to the debate, Lord Shaftesbury writes:—

March 10th.—Speech to-night on my own motion in reply to the Manifesto of the Emperor of Russia, and his audacious assertion, 'England and France are siding with the enemies of Christianity against Russia, who is combating for the Orthodox Faith.'

Nothing pleased me more than the statement of Clarendon, who was followed by many others, that the debate 'was most opportune.'

In reply to a letter from his son Evelyn, who had written to congratulate him on his success, he says:—

March 11th, 1854.

God bless you, my darling boy, for your kind, sympathising letter. The success was *indeed wonderful.*

You ask me how I get through so much work; why, as I hope that you will hereafter, by hearty prayer to Almighty God before I begin, by entering into it with faith and zeal, and by making my end to be His glory and the good of mankind. '*In hoc signo vinces.*'

Yours affectionately, S.

The "work" alluded to in the foregoing letter, was not only the routine duties inevitable to the position Lord Shaftesbury had taken in public life; on all hands new labours were pressing upon him. The following letters will indicate some of them:—

Lord Stanley to Lord Shaftesbury.

Albany, *Jan. 3rd*, 1854.

Dear Lord Shaftesbury,—My attention has been called during the recess, by various occurrences in Lancashire, in my own neighbourhood, and by the conversation of many persons there, to a subject which, I know, has engaged much of your time. I mean Burial Clubs, and the abuses to which, under existing regulations, they are exposed. I wish much, if convenient, to have some conversation with you on this subject, as I believe a legislative remedy may be

applied, and I know no person who is better qualified to pronounce on one than yourself.

Will you allow me to do myself the honour of calling upon you to discuss this question?

I make no apology either for this request or for an unceremonious address, notwithstanding the slight nature of our acquaintance. We are both public men, both deeply interested in the condition of the working-class; and, for my own part, I had rather look back on services such as those which you have performed for that class, than receive the highest honours on employment of the State.

Believe me, my dear Lord, faithfully yours,

STANLEY.

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord Aberdeen.

Feb. 22*nd*, 1854.

MY DEAR LORD,—Excuse me for making one remark on what you said to me yesterday afternoon.

It terrified me, for it implied that the country had entered on a war, which you could so little justify to your own conscience, as to be unwilling, nay, almost unable, to advise the ordinance of public prayer for success in the undertaking.

Why, then, have we begun it? You asked whether 'the English nation would be brought to pray for the Turks?' Surely; if they are brought to fight for them, they would be induced to pray for them, in a just quarrel. But would a public prayer be for the Turks alone, or for the Turks at all? We send out fleets and armies in a cause that we consider right, and we should implore Almighty God to give us success and a speedy peace.

If we have entered on the war with a view to self preservation, and in defence of principles in which all nations, not the Turks only, are concerned, we may expect, and almost demand, that a Royal proclamation be issued, inviting the Kingdom to prayer, and on these grounds.

Yours truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

Lord Clarendon to Lord Shaftesbury.

F. O., *March 2nd*, 1854.

My dear Shaftesbury,—I am always glad to find myself agreeing with you, and I hope that we shall continue to exchange ideas upon the grave events that are now rapidly about to follow each other.

I take exactly your view of Letters of Marque, and I some time ago addressed myself privately to the Governments of France and of the United States saying that, as we had been driven into the brutal and barbarous methods of settling differences, we should at least endeavour to mitigate its horrors, and thus pay homage to the civilisation of the times we live in, and that I could see no reason why a licence should be given for robbery by sea, any more than by land, &c. &c.

The proposal has been met in a corresponding spirit, and I hope shortly to settle some change in international law, for that will be necessary ; but the three greatest maritime Powers of the world have a right to effect such a change in the interests of humanity.

I am not yet prepared, however, to make any public announcement on the subject, because I wish, at the same time, with the privateering system, to bring our law, or rather practice, respecting neutral flags more in harmony with the practice and expressed wishes of other maritime nations.

Very truly yours,

Clarendon.

It had been represented to Lord Shaftesbury—and his wide acquaintance with foreign affairs and frequent visits to the Continent, confirmed the truth of the statement—that the cause of religious liberty in France needed to be brought under the personal notice of the Emperor. The recent alliance presented, it was thought, a favourable opportunity for carrying this into effect.

Lord Shaftesbury to the Emperor of the French.

LONDON, *April 19th*, 1854.

SIRE,—The liberty that I have taken in addressing your Majesty will, I feel assured, be forgiven when your Majesty shall have considered the gravity and importance of the subject that I have ventured to bring under your attention.

The position that your Majesty has given to France in the estimation of Europe; the happy and providential Alliance between the French and English nations, and the great principles for which, in truth, both your Majesty and our beloved Queen are contending, have led us not only to hope, but to believe, that we shall, all of us in both countries, obtain to the full the privileges and blessings that we are seeking to obtain for others.

Your Majesty will be astonished and grieved to learn, by the document which accompanies this letter (a document signed by some of the best names in England, and to which hundreds, had time been allowed, would have attached their signatures) that the Protestant Churches in the French Empire do not, at present, enjoy the freedom, right, security, of property and of conscience, that are enjoyed by the Seceders from the Greek Church, or Protestants, as they are termed, under the Turkish dominions. They are, on the contrary, suffering many grievous vexations, and they are apprehending many more, unless it shall please Almighty God to move your Majesty's heart to show yourself their friend and protector in all that they can claim as Christian men, and the citizens of a great empire. It would ill become me to press on your Majesty the effect that such a contrast would produce, in present circumstances, on the minds of Europe and America.

With a humble and hearty prayer to the Throne of Grace, that your Majesty may receive this address in the spirit in which it is offered; and that your Majesty may be disposed to accord us what we presume to ask.

I have the honour to be, with much respect,

Your Majesty's very obedient, humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

The letter was forwarded to the Emperor by the Count Walewski, and in course of time the following reply was received :—

The Emperor Napoleon III. to Lord Shaftesbury.

Palais de St. Cloud, *le* 22 *Mai*, 1854.

My Lord,—Le 19 avril dernier, avous m'écriviez pour réclamer en faveur de l'Eglise protestante la liberté, le droit, la sécurité que vingt pétitionnaires anglais vous signalaient comme méconnus dans certaines parties de la France. Or, le 23 de ce même mois d'avril, c'est à dire presque le même jour, un homme de la plus haute autorité parmi vos coreligionnaires, M. Guizot, au sein d'une assemblée générale, dans un compte rendu de la situation de l'Eglise protestante de France ('Journal des Débats,' du 25 avril) prononçait les paroles suivantes qui, si elles blâment la politique de mon gouvernement, rendent au moins une justice solennelle à la liberté de conscience. Il disait : '*Au moment même où les libertés publiques s'abaissent et reculent, les libertés chrétiennes se relèvent et avancent ; c'est dans l'Eglise chrétienne que se réfugient le mouvement intellectuel et la vie libre qui se retirent du monde politique.*' L'éloquent organe d'une pareille déclaration ne saurait être suspect de partialité pour l'Empire, et cependant il n'articule pas la moindre plainte contre le pouvoir administratif au sujet de l'oppression dont les signataires l'accusent. Je pourrais me borner à cette réponse, mais par égard pour l'honorable intermédiaire qu'ils ont choisi, je n'ai pas voulu me contenter de l'opinion publiquement manifestée par celui que la sévérité de ses principes comme la sûreté de son jugement rendaient le plus compétent et le plus digne de foi en cette matière. J'ai donc prescrit une information scrupuleuse ; elle est sous mes yeux, et les fonctionnaires recommandables qui l'ont dirigée se trouvent d'accord avec M. Guizot sur l'égalité positive de la protection pour tous.

Quant aux faits particuliers, il résulte de l'enquête que, dans les départements indiqués, quelques dissidents pour couvrir leurs menées politiques d'un prétexte religieux ont jeté les hauts cris au sujet d'un simple rappel à l'exécution du décret du 5 mars, 1852 ; qu'ils ont voulu faire, du droit commun et de la nécessité de s'y soumettre,

la cause envenimée d'une persécution imaginaire. Mais, chose bien digne de remarque, my Lord, et qui vous frappera sans doute comme moi, pourquoi les mécontents, avertis ainsi qu'ils le sont toujours à l'avance de la réunion annuelle du 23, ne se sont ils pas adressés au membre éminent chargé du rapport. Le secours de sa voix ne leur aurait pas manqué. Ainsi, en s'isolant pour dénoncer le gouvernement, en cherchant un appui hors de leur patrie, en renonçant à leurs défenseurs naturels, ils ont trahi la faiblesse de leur cause. Personne n'aurait osé la soutenir à la face du pays. Car, my Lord, j'ai veillé, autant qu'il était en moi, à ce que le libre exercice du culte fût assuré à tous les membres des confessions reconnues par la loi. Il n'y a plus maintenant une seule localité, plus un seul protestant en France qui ne soit rattaché à un consistoire auquel il peut s'adresser. Voilà précisément ce que ne veulent pas les Séparatistes. Ils repoussent les sages garanties introduites pour protéger leur religion. Ils affectent une indépendance absolue. Les ramener par la plus salutaire des contraintes dans les limites fixées par la loi, c'est à les entendre violer la liberté de conscience et celle des pratiques extérieures. Les esprits élevés de la religion réformée ne s'associent jamais à ces récriminations exagérées. Rassurez-vous, si l'on approfondit les faits, la plainte n'a aucun fondement ; si l'on considère les personnes, ce ne sont que des dissidents, plus ou moins animés de passions politiques. Ainsi, my Lord, quand vous m'écrivez 'que *l'Eglise protestante de l'Empire français ne jouit pas de la liberté, des droits, de la sécurité*, de la propriété de conscience dont jouissent l'Eglise grecque ou protestante,' vous n'avez pas réfléchi combien un assertion aussi tranchante était contraire à la vérité. Dans aucun pays, je ne crains pas de le déclarer, tous les cultes sans exception n'ont une position comparable à celle qui leur est faite en France. [Car en France, liberté de conscience absolue, égalité de protection à tous les cultes, subvention et secours à tous ceux que la loi reconnait, accès ouvert pour toutes carrières à chaque personne quelle que soit sa croyance.] Qu'on me cite une partie du monde, où les neuf dixièmes des habitants étant d'une même religion ceux qui ne la professent pas trouvent, comme en France, un appui plus constant et plus assuré.

Croyez, my Lord, à mes sentiments,

NAPOLÉON.

Lord Shaftesbury was not easily silenced, when he had strong evidence on his side, even by the voice of an Emperor. He had overwhelming testimony that, not only had any mayor, or other magistrate, power to refuse Protestants the privilege of meeting for public worship, and to shut up their chapels by force, without assigning any reason, but that this was constantly being done, and that the pastors of many churches, especially those in the Haute-Vienne, were even then mourning their scattered flocks, their closed churches, and their empty schools. It was the opinion of Lord Shaftesbury that the Emperor was misinformed, or was blind to the power which the Ultramontane party was exercising over the civil authorities, and, in the present temper of affairs, he wanted to see him interpose his high authority, and maintain before the world, the principle which Napoleon I. set forth in these memorable words: "The dominion of the Law ceases where the undefined domain of Conscience begins, and neither the prince nor the law can do anything against this liberty." Lord Shaftesbury, therefore, sent the following letter to the Emperor:—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Emperor Napoleon III.

London, *June 20th*, 1854.

Sire,—I have to acknowledge, with sincere thankfulness, your Majesty's condescension in replying to my letter.

I may not intrude on your Majesty's goodness, and presume to controvert anything that has been stated by your Majesty. Yet I may, perhaps, venture so far as to send a list of a few places of worship (by no means the whole) that have been closed since the Presidential Decree of 1852, and to add that the interposition, which I was bold enough to undertake, was founded, not on any request or

communications to me from the Protestants in France, but on the reports of English travellers who had visited the scenes, and on the narratives in religious and authentic periodicals.

I will dare, sire, to go one step further, and say that your Majesty has not received true intelligence from your functionaries. I take this freedom, and, at the same time, entreat for it, your royal pardon. I would not write in this way to the Emperor of Russia or any other Potentate; but I cherish, from my heart, the alliance with France, and I cannot endure the thought that the people of England should connect your Majesty's name with the odious name of Persecution.

I am, sire,

With much respect,

Your Majesty's very obedient servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

There was further correspondence on the subject, and every step that could be taken with prudence was taken to secure greater religious liberty to French Protestants. But the letters from the French authorities all partook, more or less, of a Jesuitical tone, of which the following, from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who knew that the question *du droit* was all in favour of the priests, and the question *du fait* was all against the Evangelists, may be cited.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Lord Palmerston.

PARIS, *le 6 Décembre*, 1854.

MON CHER LORD PALMERSTON,—Je n'ai pas perdu de vue les questions soulevées par le mémorandum adressé à Lord Shaftesbury, et que vous aviez bien voulu me communiquer avant votre retour à Londres.

Ces questions sont délicates et doivent s'envisager sous le double point de vue du droit et du fait.

En droit, les cultes dissidents ne subissent en France, dans leur

exercice public, d'autres restrictions que celles imposées à la religion de la majorité. Aux termes de l'article 62 de la loi du 18 germinal an X, aucune partie du territoire français ne peut être érigée en succursale sans l'autorisation du gouvernement. Suivant l'article 44 de la même loi et le décret du 22 décembre, 1812, pour établir une chapelle domestique, un oratoire particulier, même dans un pensionnat, même dans une école secondaire ecclésiastique, il faut une permission spéciale accordée sur la demande de l'évêque. Des congrégations d'origine plus ou moins récente ne pouvaient être affranchies de ces conditions applicables aux églises anciennement établies, dont le culte est éprouvé par une longue pratique. La Cour de Cassation n'a donc pas méconnu la pensée du décret du 25 mars, 1852, qui n'a fait que remettre en vigueur les articles du code pénal et de la loi du 18 avril, 1834, prohibant les associations composées de plus de vingt personnes. *En fait*, l'administration départementale a reçu récemment encore des instructions formelles qui lui prescrivent d'user avec une grande modération des pouvoirs discrétionnaires dont elle est investie dans l'intérêt de la sécurité publique. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que lorsque les demandes concernent l'exercice d'un culte déjà reconnu et qu'elles émanent régulièrement des représentants officiels de ce culte, leur objet même et leur origine sont une présomption et un titre en leur faveur.

Agréez, mon cher Lord Palmerston, les assurances de ma haute considération et de mon sincère attachement.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Worldly honours were not coveted by Lord Shaftesbury, but he was not indifferent to them. The honours he had himself achieved, far exceeded any that could be bestowed upon him. It is, however, remarkable that, up to this point in his career, no public honour had been accorded to him, save and except the presentation of the freedom of the town of Tain in Scotland!

It was when he was fighting a battle as hard as any that should be fought in the Crimea; when he was distressed by failure in procuring just legislation for

chimney sweepers, and "harassed by Quaker letters bepraising the Czar" and denouncing him; when "private affairs and public affairs, the Danube and house-drainage, Ragged Schools and the Kings of the East, Omar Pasha and 'pure literature for the people,' the Turkish Exchequer and his own" were dividing and confusing his mind, that he received the following letter from the Prime Minister:—

Lord Aberdeen to Lord Shaftesbury.

ARGYLL HOUSE, *May 4th*, 1854.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—It would give me great pleasure if you would permit me to submit your name to the Queen for the vacant Blue Ribbon. This is not intended as a political appointment; for, although I hope your general feelings are not unfriendly to the Government, I make the proposal exclusively from a desire to mark my admiration of your unwearied exertions in the cause of humanity and of social improvement.

I am aware that honours of this description are usually conferred from very different motives; but I feel certain that the distinction was never better deserved, and I doubt not that I shall myself receive credit for making such a selection.

Believe me, very truly yours,

ABERDEEN.

Almost every weighty question that came before Lord Shaftesbury, he discussed with himself in his Diary, and these are his thoughts and arguments on receiving Lord Aberdeen's "friendly and gratifying letter":—

May 5th. Though my immediate impulse was to decline it, prayed to God for counsel and guidance. The point to be considered is 'will it impede, or will it promote, my means of doing

good?' Minny wants me to accept it 'as a just acknowledgment,' so she says, 'of my deserts.' I am unwilling to do so, lest it should be considered a *payment* of them, and I be told, hereafter, either that I was never disinterested in my labours, or, when I appeal to Government for aid in my projects, that they have done enough to oblige me, and that they can do no more!

I do not, myself, care about the thing the least in the world; and I do not see that it would be advisable to take a step by which nothing can be gained and something may be lost.

First, though I am really anxious to maintain this Government in office, I do not wish to bind myself to it by any party ties; and this would, in some degree, lay me under an obligation to the Minister.

Secondly, it would preclude me, in some degree, from claim on any other Minister who might succeed Aberdeen, and I can prosper, in my various and difficult undertakings, only by being on good and disinterested terms with all.

Thirdly, many ignorant and many malicious persons would decry all public virtue, and say that 'every public man had his price.'

Fourthly, many censorious, spiteful, and wondering remarks, some in bitterness, some in pleasantry, which I need not record, would be made on myself.

Fifthly, the novelty of this reward for such services as mine, would offend many people, and lower the value of the decoration among those for whom it is principally intended.

Sixthly, the fees would amount to more than one thousand pounds, a sum which I have not and cannot command, and which, if I had, I must devote either to my children or to duties towards my people. Those who are rich, or without claims on them, may do these things; but how can I, when, at this moment, people are asking for payment of their debts, and I am unable to satisfy them?

This is my mind; but I must, in deference to the wishes of another, take one day for thought and counsel. God give me a true judgment.

The result of the deliberation is given in the following letter:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord Aberdeen.

May 5th, 1854.

MY DEAR LORD,—Your very kind letter reached me last night, and I determined at once to take a few hours for deliberation before I ventured to send a reply.

I return you my most sincere and hearty thanks for your friendly intentions, and for the gratifying language in which you have communicated them.

This offer, I know, is not made, nor do I regard it, in a political sense. True it is that the course of my public life has separated me from Party, but I am not, by any means, indifferent to the welfare of your Administration.

Now, while I acknowledge, with real gratitude, the honour you have proposed to me, shall I be considered as slighting either the decoration or yourself, if I venture to decline it? In the public career I have to maintain, and to secure the objects I pursue, it is essentially necessary that I not only be, but that I appear to be, altogether independent. You, I know, would impose no conditions; but were your offer accepted, I should impose them on myself, and feel bound, by my own act, to limit somewhat my own discretion. I must remember, too, that there are many whom you might oblige by the high distinction, and whose pretensions would be more readily admitted by the political world.

The act you contemplated, of kindness and respect for my labours, has been accomplished by the offer; and be assured that I shall never, to the end of my days, see a Garter or a Star without a grateful and affectionate recollection of the honour proposed, and of the man who proposed it.

With earnest wishes for your temporal and eternal welfare,

Believe me, very truly yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

After-thoughts confirmed him in his opinion that he had done well to decline the honour, and he writes in his Diary a few days later:—

May 10th.—Wrote on Saturday to Aberdeen and declined the Garter; but I thanked him heartily and affectionately for his kindness, and for the estimate he put on my public services. He understood and felt my difficulties, and sent, he told me, my letter to the Queen. I regret the necessity of the determination, for I am not indifferent to the honour; but I am sure that I have done wisely, God be praised; and, so far as I can judge, people seem to think so.

The position of affairs in the East revived the hope that the time was at hand when a way would be opened for the return of the Jews to their inheritance in the Land of Promise. Whatever opinion others might hold upon this subject, and whatever interpretation they might place upon the prophecies in the Scriptures concerning it, Lord Shaftesbury never had a shadow of doubt that the Jews *were* to return to their own land, that the Scriptures were to be literally fulfilled, and that the time was at hand. It was no commonplace belief he held; no mere assent to a proposition. It was his daily prayer, his daily hope. "Oh, pray for the peace of Jerusalem!" were the words engraven on the ring he always wore on his right hand—the words, too, that were engraven on his heart. His study of the prophetic Scriptures led him to associate the return of the Jews with the Second Advent of our Lord, and this was the hope that animated every other.

He believed in human instrumentality bringing about Divine purposes, and, as we have seen,* had laid a scheme for the Colonisation of Syria before Lord Palmerston in 1840. Nothing practical having come

* Vol. i., p. 313.

of the negotiations, he now brought the subject under the notice of Lord Clarendon.

May 17th.—Wrote this day to Sir Moses Montefiore, to learn, if I could, the sentiments of his nation respecting a plan I have already opened to Clarendon, and Clarendon to Lord Stratford, that the Sultan should be moved to issue a firman granting to the Jewish people power to hold land in Syria, or any part of the Turkish dominions. This would be analogous to the Decree of Cyrus. Surely no one can say, 'you are precipitating events;' they are rushing upon us; we desire simply to meet them. All the East is stirred; the Turkish Empire is in rapid decay; every nation is restless; all hearts expect some great thing; all look to wars, convulsions, changes, new and wonderful issues; nothing, men fear, is to remain as it is, yet no one can shadow even the outline of the events to come. No one can say that we are anticipating prophecy; the requirements of it seem nearly fulfilled; Syria 'is wasted without an inhabitant;' these vast and fertile regions will soon be without a ruler, without a known and acknowledged power to claim dominion. The territory must be assigned to some one or other; can it be given to any European potentate? to any American colony? to any Asiatic sovereign or tribe? Are there aspirants from Africa to fasten a demand on the soil from Hamath to the river of Egypt? No, no, no! There is a country *without a nation;* and God now, in His wisdom and mercy, directs us to *a nation without a country.* His own once loved, nay, still loved people, the sons of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.

Among the labours that at this time made up the common round and daily task of Lord Shaftesbury's life, was a renewed effort to better the condition of Chimney Sweepers. It was not, however, until some years later that his efforts were crowned with success.

May 2nd.—Great anxiety about Bill for relief of Chimney Sweepers. Have suffered actual tortures through solicitude for prevention of these horrid cruelties. What a mystery that our efforts have

been so long unavailing. The accursed system is, I fear, returning to London.

May 20th.—For three days have suffered much from giddiness, and to-day suffer from grief. The Government in the House of Commons threw out the Chimney-Sweepers Bill, and said not a word of sympathy for the wretched children, nor of desire to amend the law. They stood on mere technicalities, Fitzroy and Lord J. Russell giving the ministerial opposition. Walpole was as hostile as any of them, sacrificing the bodies and souls of thousands to a mere point of legal etiquette! I have to thank Phillimore for bringing it in, and Kinnaird and Acland for supporting it; and again I must bow to this mysterious Providence that leaves these outcasts to their horrible destiny, and nullifies, apparently at least, all our efforts to rescue them in soul and body.

May 21st.—Sunday. Very sad and low about the loss of the Sweeps Bill—the prolonged sufferings, the terrible degradation, the licensed tyranny, the helpless subjection, the enormous mass of cruelty and crime on the part of parents and employers, are overwhelming. The prospect is gloomy; this failure, and the failure of my Bill last year for the Suppression of Juvenile Mendicancy, show that my influence, always small, is now on the decline. Henceforward effort will be hopeless, nevertheless it must be made. The Collar of the Garter might have choked me; I have not, at least, this or any other Government favour against me, as a set-off to their insolence and oppression. I must persevere, and by God's help so I will; for however dark the view, however contrary to all argument the attempt, however painful and revolting the labour, I see no Scripture reason for desisting; and the issue of every toil is in the hands of the Almighty.

May 22nd.—Half-past ten. . . . Wrote to Aberdeen about the conduct of the Government. I thank God that Palmerston was no party to the act, he came to vote for me and found Fitzroy in the field against me! * Am in many minds what to do. Shall I move an address to the Crown, and state the whole case? Shall I let the matter rest to another Session? . . .

The following extracts from the Diary relate prin-

* Fitzroy was Under-Secretary at the time.

cipally to the private joys and griefs of Lord Shaftesbury during this year :—

May 15th.—Very busy ; little time for thought, none for reading. Oftentimes do I look at a book and wish for it, as a donkey for a carrot ; and I, like him, am disappointed.

May 17th.—Went to chair of mothers' meeting in Westminster ; a wonderful, really a wonderful—call it, in the language of theology, a miraculous—spectacle. It was a sight to bless God for, such a mighty reformation of drunken, idle, profligate, dirty, and cruel parents. As usual, none of the clergy there. A work of this kind, and of this high and spiritual character, effected by an unordained person, a humble layman who, without the intervention of a bishop, or a college education, had nothing but the grace of God and the Holy Scriptures, is too powerful, too convincing, too irresistible. It overwhelms 'Apostolical Succession' by an avalanche of practical truth.

July 4th.—To Harrow for the speeches. It pleased me. Dear Evelyn was among the speakers ; and most admirably, most agreeably, did he execute his task both in French and English. Every one was delighted with his manner, his appearance, his manifest ability. Ah ! Lord, make him Thy true, constant, and fruitful servant.

July 16th.—Sunday. Have to record God's mercy and goodness. Arrived late last night by rail from Dover, having gone there the night before and spent the whole of yesterday on the sea or in Calais in an inspection of the embarkation of French troops on board the British fleet. Went that I might see dear Antony again in the *Hannibal* under orders for the Baltic. Saw him and passed some hours with him. I had the advantage of the Admiralty boat and the company of Admiral Berkeley and Captain Milne.

July 22nd. . . . Threatened by loss of Seeley's aid in the various movements and societies. This is heartrending. 'I cannot,' as Moses said, 'bear all this burden myself alone.' Specially the Lab. Friend Soc. will suffer. It has long depended, humanly speaking, on Gregson, Roberts, and Seeley, the universal and constant (with myself) sub-committee. But Gregson has ceased to attend ; Roberts is abroad for health ; and now Seeley must 'give in !' Lord, raise us up fit men for this service ! O Lord, succour us ! It is surely a work for Thine honour and man's real welfare !

It was when *en route* to Ems to drink the waters, before proceeding on his annual continental tour, that he wrote :—

August 12th.—Ems. Had heard, on road, at Bonn, report of death of poor Jocelyn by cholera ; confirmed by a letter from Palmerston. Such is the will of God ; and we must say of this, as of many other events, 'What I do thou knowest not now ; but thou shalt know hereafter.' It is very sad, for he leaves behind him a wife and four young children ; very awful, for he was cut off suddenly, without notice or preparation. 'In the midst of life we are in death.' He was in excellent health, all things considered, but a few hours before the pestilence struck him—'the arrow that flieth at noon-day.' . . . It has startled and grieved me ; so good-natured, good-tempered, and good-hearted ; he was popular, with much social merit. . . . God sanctify it to us all—to his relatives and acquaintances, to the circle of his associates, to high and low, rich and poor ! Let it drive us more earnestly to prayer, for ourselves and for our children !

August 17th. . . . Jocelyn buried at Hyde Hall on Tuesday, the day after we received the intelligence. Besides other reasons for remaining, it was thus physically impossible to pay the last tribute of respect and affection. The feeling is strong to pray for the departed, specially if your belief comes short of assurance. But it must be resisted ; there is no warranty for it in Scripture.

September 8th.—The dear old Duchess of Beaufort has been gathered to her fathers, full of years and God's grace. At eighty-four years of age, and with such hope—nay, assurance—of a blessed eternity, who can weep for her departure ? She has run a remarkable course ; she fought a good fight ; she kept the faith. Called by God to be His instrument for the revival of the truth in the upper classes of society, she became 'a mother in Israel.' I entertain for her the deepest reverence and affection, and well may I add, gratitude, for her undeviating kindness and love towards me, and hearty sympathy in all I undertook. Many and profitable have been the hours that I have passed in her company. Very kind letter from her worthy daughter, Lady Georgiana Ryder.

November 12th, Sunday.—St. Giles's. To London a few days

ago, to exhibit the terrors of Wild Court to the editors of papers and others, that they might see the present state of things, and judge by the inspection of a year hence (should God so far spare us) of the improvements we propose to make, their cost, their completeness, and efficiency. It answered well.

The object of Lord Shaftesbury in inviting a number of noblemen, ministers, representatives of the press, and others, to a kind of "open-air meeting" in Wild Court, Great Wild Street, Drury Lane, was that those who were interested in the London poor might have an opportunity of knowing, from personal inspection, the character of the dens in which too many of them were obliged to herd together. This wretched Court was selected as a suitable locality for the extension of the experimental labours of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Working Classes (the Labourers' Friend Society) in introducing into London better house-accommodation for the poor. The newspapers of the following day published graphic descriptions of the place; and it was stated, among other details, that the inadequacy of the means supplied for sewage, drainage, and water supply were such, as, but for ocular proof, could hardly have been believed to exist in any civilised country. It was found, too, that in the fourteen houses of which Wild Court consisted, nearly one thousand persons found shelter, and that the very staircases were nightly covered with poor wretches to whom even the pestilential accommodation of the rooms was an unattainable luxury.

November 27th.—Saw yesterday, in the paper, that Lockhart was dead. He had long been in a declining state, and now he is gone!

His family anxieties had been great, and his bodily sufferings too. I must ever remember him with gratitude, for the *Quarterly Review* has ever been open to the maintenance of mercy, truth, and wisdom, in the cause of the labouring population. His kindness to myself was unwearied.

December 18th.—London. . . . Chair in evening at Drury Lane, for an oration of Gough's.* The man is a marvel—a real marvel. He would be a marvel if there were only his eloquence and flow ; but he is pious and modest withal, which renders him a perfect prodigy. He acts as well as he speaks.

War in a Christian spirit presented no anomaly to the mind of Lord Shaftesbury. He acknowledged the Hand of God in the unfolding of every fresh page of History, and he saw, or thought he saw, in the events which were happening in the East, the ripening of many purposes and the accomplishment of many ends, which he believed to be Divinely decreed. Thus he writes of the Czar :—" He has aimed at universal empire, and is now undergoing the sentence that God ever inflicts on such fearful ambition." Again : " He has greatly persecuted the Jews, of whom nearly two millions live and smart under his warlike dominion. But he will learn, as all have learned who have oppressed them, that they are 'a people terrible from their beginning hitherto,' terrible in their possession of God's covenanted protection ;" and so on throughout the Diaries.

What did present an anomaly to the mind of Lord Shaftesbury was, that any action could be taken by the leaders in the great movements connected with the war, except in a serious spirit, and, more than this, that any

* The Temperance Lecturer.

steps should be taken by a Christian nation, without national prayer, or any signal mercy be received, without national thanksgiving. It grieved him that banquets given to military and naval heroes on their departure for the war should be so "light and jocose." "Surely," he says, "we should send them forth with prayer, and hope, and confidence, not with wine and laughter." It grieved him that the dispatches of Lord Raglan made no acknowledgment of the God of battles. "He falls sadly short of Hardinge, who, announcing his great victory over the Sikhs, gave all the glory to God. Forgive him, O Lord, and us too, for the nation must have a share in the responsibility."

And again: "Why are Raglan's dispatches so cold and thankless to Almighty God? Is it not grievous? Is it not awful, that, amid such plain and unquestionable proofs of God's interposition, there should be no mention of His name? Is he ashamed to follow Lord Nelson and Lord Hardinge? Is he thinking more of the clubs of St. James's Street, than the audience of the Heavenly host? I am deeply sorry, and tremble for him and for the cause. It is a sad pity, a melancholy loss, for a nobler specimen of a soldier and a gentleman has never existed in our land."

Lord Shaftesbury did not in these criticisms require from others what in principle he did not give himself; nor did he preach and fail to practise. The entries in his Diaries are full of devout acknowledgments of the goodness, mercy, and judgment of God, while on many occasions, and especially on the eve of critical events, he

recorded the particular subjects of his prayer. Here is a specimen: "O Lord, Almighty God, protect those gallant men of both nations by sea and by land, from the pestilence, the battle, and the flood; give them a speedy and a joyous victory; a speedy and a lasting peace; restore them safe and happy to their land, and that right soon. We pray not, O Lord, in malignity or revenge, but for the peace of nations, and the security of freedom; restrain the ambition of this man, stay his encroachments, confound his devices, and turn his heart. Rend from him his ill-gotten gains, the acquisitions of fraud and violence, confine him within his own limits of race and language. Save a Protestant land from idolatrous rule, and enable us to do some great work for Poland, of justice, mercy, and retribution; and thus, by Thy grace, both in the East and in the West, Thy word shall have free course and be glorified through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The following letter to Mr. Haldane relates to this subject:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Haldane.

Dec. 21st, 1854.

My dear Mr. Haldane,—A controversy will, I suppose, arise on the propriety of the refusal of Lord Aberdeen to set apart a day for thanksgiving in acknowledgment of the victories of Alma and Inkerman.

On a consideration of the whole matter, I think that he was right.

It would be a happy thing if the public and private prayers of the nation ascended, at every hour, to the Throne of Grace, but it is a serious question whether the Queen shall frequently interpose, and, by authority, direct the devotions of the people.

In the first place, the constant repetition of such an exercise of prerogative has a tendency to bring their power into dispute, and it is, I understand, very open to question.

Next, the frequency of the appeal diminishes and almost wears out the effect; and it should, therefore, be reserved for instances of a great crisis, such as the commencement of a war, or the close of it, or some event having a decided and marked issue.

This is the more requisite, as a day set apart involves a heavy fine on large masses of the working community. Not one employer in a hundred will pay his people for the day of suspended labour; and thus, while easy people rejoice, the operative classes almost groan, and positively sustain a loss, while we experience none. This breeds discontent, and takes greatly from the value of the authoritative observance. The people assent to it on great occasions; but on an occasion less marked, both they and the Dissenters, and even the Clergy, complain of the decree.

Lord Aberdeen added an argument which I had never heard before, but it has great force. 'Take heed,' he said, 'how you get into *the habit* of superseding the Liturgy by new prayers under the Royal order; you may introduce precedents fatal to the integrity of your Prayer Book.'

We had, and most fitly, a prayer at the beginning of the war; we should, I hope, have one more if it please God to bless our arms with the capture of Sebastopol.

If you concur with me, will you use your influence to turn the thoughts of religious newspapers into the same channel?

Yours very truly,

S.

The last paragraph in the letter quoted above, is noteworthy. Mr. Haldane had great influence with the *Record* newspaper, and it was through him that, on all occasions and on every conceivable subject, Lord Shaftesbury was able to communicate with the public.

The end of 1854 and the early part of 1855 was a period pregnant with important events in the life of

Lord Shaftesbury, as it was in the political history of the country. The mismanagement of affairs in the Crimea, particularly as regarded the Commissariat Department, had kindled a feeling of distress and indignation such as had never been known before.

Dec. 21st, 1854.—The mismanagement and stupidity, if not utter negligence, at Balaklava, have caused a great amount of loss of life, of property, and health. This was excusable in the outset; it is not excusable now, when the Government know all these things.

Dec. 22nd.—Much talk with Clarendon, Newcastle, and Lord Lansdowne; they are downcast, and fear the consequences of the incapacity of their local agents. The country has sent out stores of *every* kind, equal to five times the demand; and yet neither the sound nor the sick, the officer nor the private, can obtain the twentieth part of what is wanted.

It would be beside our purpose to tell the story of the grievous calamities that befell our countrymen in the Crimea in the terrible winter of this year. "The noblest army England ever sent from these shores," said the *Times*, "has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement. Incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic hauteur, official indifference, favour, routine, perverseness and stupidity, reign, revel, and riot, in the camp before Sebastopol, in the harbour of Balaklava, in the hospitals of Scutari, and how much nearer home we do not venture to say." Every day fresh tidings came of privation, sickness, and death; of unspeakable suffering from neglect; of medical stores decaying at Varna that were intended for Scutari; of tents standing in pools of water for want of implements to dig trenches; of consignments of boots all for the left foot; and so forth.

One good came out of the evil, not limited to the Crimea, but destined to affect every battle-field for all future time, namely, the landing in Scutari of Miss Florence Nightingale and the noble band of women who accompanied her, as nurses to the sick and wounded. Thus was inaugurated the Geneva Red Cross Association which has since done so much to mitigate the avoidable horrors of war.

When Parliament re-assembled after the Christmas recess (Jan. 23), public indignation in England had reached its height.

Jan. 25th, 1855.—London. Accounts from the Crimea wax worse and worse; our men are decimated by disease, cold, and hunger. The survivors are feeble and demoralised. We have no commanders, no officers. 'Counsel has perished.' Raglan's staff—specially his Quarter-Master and Adjutant-General—are incompetent, ignorant, obstinate and preferring the observance of a red-tape regulation to the comforts, nay, the lives of the soldiers. Newcastle, at home, seems not more efficient; he sees all the evil, and yet, through weakness or perverseness, applies no remedy. Unless God in His wonderful mercy interpose, we shall have a national disaster unprecedented in the annals of English history. O God, give us the spirit of penitence, confession, and prayer! Here is our only hope. Have written to McCaul, Seeley, and Haldane, to stir up every one to earnest, hearty, and constant supplication.

And J. Russell has chosen this time to send in his resignation, and break up the Government! Can any one who knows the man and his antecedents, doubt that self-seeking, place-loving ambition, aims at the Premiership, and jeopardises everything for his own particular?

Mr. Roebuck had given notice that he would move for a Select Committee "to inquire into the condition of the army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of

those Departments of the Government, whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army." As this involved "a censure upon the War Department, with which some of his colleagues were connected," Lord John Russell considered that his only course was to tender his resignation, "probably," as Lord Shaftesbury said in a letter to Mr. Haldane, "with a desire to flood the Government, in the hope of floating to the surface and getting the best anchorage as the waters subside."

On January the 29th Mr. Roebuck's motion was carried by 305 to 148, and on the following day the Coalition Government ceased to exist.

Feb. 1st. . . . Folly, rashness, self-conceit, and miscalculation are at their height. Affairs in the Crimea, and affairs at home, seem to prove that we are anything but 'a wise and understanding people.' All is in confusion; the old Government is out; and there is no new one to come in. Meanwhile the war proceeds, the army perishes, and judgments arise out of our own personal childishness. We are silly beyond the silliness of a boarding-school. . . . On Monday night a majority of 150 destroyed the whole Administration, intending to destroy only Newcastle and Aberdeen. The Government might have been saved, would it have announced a change in the War Department, and a resolution to reform the Civil Departments of the army; but the 'mock heroics' got hold of them, and they preferred defeat. These struttings of dignity are very legitimate in ordinary times, but wholly misplaced in such a crisis of the nation as this.

Derby proposed yesterday to Palmerston that he, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert, should join his administration. Palmerston replied that he would join none which did not contain Clarendon at the Foreign Office. He subsequently refused to join him at all.

Feb. 3rd.—We are full of rumours; and none are agreeable. It is certain that Lord J. Russell (!!!) has been desired, this day, to form an Administration; and Palmerston has consented to take the

lead of House of Commons, Lord John going to the House of Lords. . . . Why is the House of Lords to be made the London reformatory, where convicted criminals are to have another chance? Is it good that so tarnished a man should be in so brilliant a situation?

Palmerston has many defects for a Premier; but he is better than any competitor. He has judged wrongly in aiding her Majesty to inflict the Russell incubus on the country. He urges in excuse that 'he should have been charged with personal views and a desire to get the thing into his own hands.'

Feb. 5th. . . . Palmerston has received orders to construct an Administration! It was no slight affront to public morality that Lord J. was ever summoned to do so. But 'public morality' is a mediæval thing; the 19th century has outstripped it!

Feb. 6th.—The Peelites, it is said, refuse to join, though reluctantly; but Gladstone leads them, and they follow him. Various reasons are assigned, but none of them sound, patriotic, wise, or *true*. I hear that Gladstone has long exhibited a desire to return to Lord Derby, and I believe it. He would then be Leader of the House of Commons, and be virtually Prime Minister. Then would he work his will in the ecclesiastical appointments. People will begin to expect that Palmerston's Church nominations will differ much from Aberdeen's, being influenced by my opinion. There could not be a greater error. He has never in his life, and never will, so long as he has breath, consult me on anything. It is not very likely that he will consult anybody; but, if he do, it will not be one connected with the Evangelical party.

The day after the above entry was made in the Diary Lord Shaftesbury received the following letter:—

Lord Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

PICCADILLY, *7th Feb.*, 1855.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—Will you be Duke of Lancaster with a seat in the Cabinet? You would be useful to us in Council, and your being there would, I am sure, be gratifying to large bodies of the people.

Yours sincerely,

Let me know as soon as you can. PALMERSTON.

Later on in the same day a further letter was sent. It ran thus :—

Lord Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

PICCADILLY, *7th Feb.*, 1855.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—Unexpected difficulties have arisen which may interfere with the offer which I made you this morning, and therefore I must ask you to consider it as suspended till you hear from me again.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

The difficulties to which I allude do not relate to you but to others.

Although the receipt of the first letter could not be otherwise than gratifying to Lord Shaftesbury, the receipt of the second brought him infinite relief. His replies to both letters are given below :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord Palmerston (No. I.).

Feb. 7th, 1855.

DEAR PALMERSTON,—I have received your letter, and consider, as you desire, the offer suspended.

I have sent my letter, which was ready, that you may see that, probably after all, I may not be such a colleague as you wished for, at least not one worth struggling for against a difficulty.

Yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord Palmerston (No. II.).

Feb. 7th, 1855.

MY DEAR PALMERSTON,—You may be assured that I am much gratified by your kind proposition, and I feel very sensibly both the honour and the friendship of it.

But the acceptance of office involves so large a surrender of many important occupations in which I am engaged, and have for a long time been engaged, that I should make up my mind with great reluctance to enter on a new career.

The circumstances of the time, however, are such that no one may stand on his own particular habits and tastes, if the surrender of them can be of advantage to the public weal. Your letter states that I can be of such service, but while I submit my judgment to yours, and prepare to undertake a charge to which I am most repugnant, I may assert that I can be of service to your Administration only by adhering to the principles I have professed, and by which I have obtained any small confidence I may have from the country.

Pray be assured that I am not presuming to make conditions. I simply desire to state that there are certain opinions and principles, which I have always maintained, and which, wherever I be placed, I must continue to maintain.

Now, the only points on which you and I are likely to differ are :—

1st. Questions such as Maynooth, and matters akin to it. I am not for the extinction of Maynooth, that cannot be now done, but I am strongly against the extension of it, and very much in favour of its reformation and adjustment to the necessities of Ireland.

2nd. Any measures for the encouragement of the Papal power, such as the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains to the several gaols.

3rd. The question of the Jewish Relief Bill.

4th. Measures affecting the *vexata quæstio* of the Sabbath, such as the disturbance of the Act, passed last session, for the closing of public-houses on that day, which has worked so well, but to which there is a strong opposition.

Now, if with the hazard of these differences, and your knowledge of the several positions I hold in the country, at the head of many Associations and Committees, you are still of opinion that I can render a service in the present awful crisis (for this is my main consideration) I will surrender, to your judgment, my own very strong antipathy to official life, and hold the situation until you shall have found some other one equally to your mind.

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

The incident is narrated in the Diary in these words:

Feb. 8th.—And so I have had the chance of being a Cabinet Minister! Palmerston proposed to me the Duchy of Lancaster with a seat in the Cabinet! It is a crisis, a dreadful crisis—a Government must be formed! Reserving all principles, I accepted it in the sense shown in my letter, though I loathed it beyond the power of expression. My first impulse to refuse, but overruled by the importunities of Minny. Believed, and still believe, that I should have been thwarted, defeated on everything, whether of movement or existence; should have been absolutely alone, defied in the Cabinet, and misunderstood out of it.

A few hours afterwards requested by P. to consider 'the offer as suspended,' in consequence of unforeseen difficulties.

. . . This morning a letter from Lady Palmerston to say that the Whigs were infuriated by their 'small' share of power and place; and that P. must give the Duchy to one of that party. I acquiesced more cheerfully in the withdrawal than in the proposition of the offer. Lord Lansdowne took the lead against me.

The letter alluded to above, was as follows:—

Lady Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

Thursday morning, Feb. 8th.

My dearest Ashley,—Palmerston is distracted with all the worry he has to go through, and he must go to Windsor at twelve, so he desired me to write to you.

He says that your high character and position in the country would, he feels sure, have been of great use to the Government, but after he first wrote to you he found himself in a very unexpected difficulty. The Whigs at Brookes' were all up in arms at the Government not being formed on more Liberal principles or rather with 'more of the Whig party.'

They are disappointed at the Peelites joining, and at under people of that party keeping their places, so that, in that manner, there are hardly any places to fill up. They press, therefore, very much for a Whig in the Duchy of Lancaster, so as to make the Peelite division in a greater minority. One part of our friends strongly press for

Lord Grey, and another put forward Lord Carlisle. I don't think Palmerston will agree to either, but still he would give way to having a Whig appointed, rather than to have all the party dissatisfied.

Nobody has made any personal objection to you, and Palmerston would certainly have preferred you to any other person, both from opinion and affection; but as you did feel reluctant to accept the trammels of office, and felt that it would be a sacrifice on your part to give up your independence, he will not urge you any further; but hopes you will give him your assistance and the benefit of your advice.

Believe me, yours ever affectionately,

E. PALMERSTON.

P.S.—It is no pleasure to have to form a Government when there are so many unreasonable people to please, and so many interested people pressing for their own gratification and vanity, without any regard to the public good or the interests of the Government and country.

For a time, the anxiety and suspense which an offer of a place in the Government always brought upon Lord Shaftesbury, were removed. But only for a time. Lord Palmerston had too high an appreciation, from long personal experience, of Lord Shaftesbury's qualifications for statesmanship, to dispense with his immediate assistance without a struggle.

In the meanwhile, however, he was called to a work of the gravest importance, for which, as far as we are aware, he has never had the credit which was justly his due, namely, the organisation of a Sanitary Commission, with full powers to redress the grievances at Scutari and Balaklava, as far as they were capable of redress, and thus to roll away, as far as possible, the stigma that attached to the nation.

"That commission," Miss Nightingale wrote to Lord Shaftesbury, some time afterwards, "saved the British army."

One day, when excitement and indignation were at their height, on account of the mismanagement of affairs in the East, Dr. Hector Gavin, who had been for three years Government Commissioner for the prevention and cure of cholera in the West Indies, called upon Lord Shaftesbury, to talk about his labours on the Board of Health in relation to the same disease, and, as a matter of course, the conversation turned upon the ravages made by cholera among our brave soldiers in the East. It was during that interview that the scheme for a Sanitary Commission in the East was suggested to the mind of Lord Shaftesbury.

The outline of the history of the movement is given briefly in the Diary. The amount of labour involved can be imagined.

Feb. 14th. . . . Have been running about to stir up Prelates and Ministers to a day of prayer. Tried, unsuccessfully, to see Panmure* on sanitary arrangements for Crimea Hospitals, but all in vain; a 'Philanthropist' is always a bore.

Feb. 15th.—A day of success. May God be praised, and to Him be all the glory! First, efforts with the Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury, Gladstone, and Palmerston, for a day of humiliation, have prospered. Most thankful was I to-day to find P. not only ready, but urging, that the day should be a special day, and not a Sunday. This is very good; it looks serious and reverent.

Next, Panmure has listened to my scheme for a Sanitary Commission to proceed, with full powers, to Scutari and Balaklava, there

* Lord Panmure (formerly Mr. Fox Maule) was Secretary of State for War.

to purify the hospitals, ventilate the ships, and exert all that science can do to save life where thousands are dying, not of their wounds, but of dysentery and diarrhœa, the result of foul air and preventible mischiefs. Again I bless Thee, O Lord; and bring the work, we pray Thee, to a joyous issue!

The Commissioners, who were appointed without delay, were Dr. Sutherland, of the General Board of Health; Dr. Hector Gavin (who was afterwards killed accidentally in the Crimea); Mr. Rawlinson, Civil Engineer; Mr. Newlands, Chief Inspector; three sub-inspectors, and one assistant engineer.

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord Panmure.

Feb. 19*th*, 1855.

MY DEAR PANMURE,—The Commissioners must proceed by Marseilles. No time should be lost, and the screw steamer will not be ready for some days; nor is there any room left to receive new comers.

You will, I hope, be good enough to permit them to do so. . . .

[*The question of stores to be taken, and remuneration to the Commissioners followed.*]

The service will be laborious, and even perilous; and these gentlemen have cheerfully surrendered their personal comforts, and, in the case of Mr. Rawlinson, professional emolument, to aid the public in this crisis. Mr. Newlands is the chief officer of Liverpool, a person of great energy and experience; the other sub-inspectors are from the same place, and will be of infinite service to superintend the cleansing of Scutari, Balaklava, and the camp.

We are greatly indebted to the Town Council of Liverpool for the liberal manner in which they have placed their medical staff at the disposal of the Commission; we could not, otherwise, have obtained such excellent service at so cheap a rate. It is to be considered as their contribution to the effort made for the improvement of the health of the army.

We estimate that two months, or, at most, three months, will be sufficient for the purpose in view.

It will be very desirable—nay, almost indispensable—that the Commissioners should have the power of hiring, on their own account, such numbers of workmen as they may find necessary.

The entire success of this undertaking will depend on the instructions given to Lord Raglan, Lord W. Powlett, and other authorities, *to carry into execution without delay* whatever the Commissioners may declare to be essential to health and safety.

You may really repose confidence in them; they are trustworthy men, and they will advise nothing that is needless or extravagant. If, upon giving a plan, they are met with any delays, however short; sent from one department to another; their hands bound with red tape, and their shins broken by a succession of official stumbling-blocks, they will be useless—indeed, ridiculous; and they will, themselves, feel, as every one will say, that they might as well have remained at home. We cannot, in these matters, trifle with time; minutes here are as valuable as years: and a pestilence might ravage the troops while a score of functionaries were writing to each other to ascertain whose business it was to attend to it. But with vigour and dispatch, very little writing, very little talking, and very much action, I entertain, under God's blessing, the most sanguine hopes.

It would be a great result.

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

In addition to the letters to Lords Raglan and W. Powlett, I would recommend a strong letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

So completely were the arrangements, even to the minutest details, under the personal direction of Lord Shaftesbury, that, at Lord Panmure's request, the Instructions to the Commissioners were drawn up by him, and were even written by his own hand. They were as follows:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, *February*, 1855.

GENTLEMEN,—Her Majesty having been pleased to appoint a Sanitary Commission, to proceed forthwith to Constantinople and the

Crimea, you are instructed, as Commissioners therein named, to obey the directions which follow.

The utmost expedition must be used in starting on your journey, in the journey itself, and in the execution of all that is necessary at the place of your destination.

Hours even, at this crisis, are of incalculable importance.

On your arrival at Constantinople and Balaklava you will put yourselves instantly into communication with Lord W. Powlett and Lord Raglan respectively; and you will request of them forthwith (according to the official directions they will have received) full powers of entry into every hospital, infirmary, or receptacle of whatever kind for the sick and wounded, whether ashore or afloat.

You will inspect every part of such infirmaries; ascertain the character and sufficiency of the drainage and ventilation, the quality and quantity of the water supply, and determine whether the condition of the whole is such as to allow, by purity of the air and freedom from overcrowding, fair play and full scope to medical and surgical treatment for the recovery of health.

You will call to your aid, for this purpose, whether as witnesses or as guides, any of the officers or attendants that you may require.

The result of your inspection and opinions, together with a statement of all that it is necessary should be done,—whether in the way of arrangement, of reduction of numbers in the wards, cleansing, disinfecting, or of actual construction, in order to secure the great ends of safety and health,—must be laid, as speedily as possible, before Lord W. Powlett or Lord Raglan, as the case may be, or such persons as may be appointed by them to that special duty, and you will request them to give immediate directions that the works be completed.

As no time is to be lost, you may reserve your detailed and minute reports, and give, in the first instance, a statement only of the things to be done forthwith.

The Engineer Commissioner will be expected to conduct the inspection along with his colleagues, and to devise, and to see executed, all such structural arrangements as may be declared indispensable.

You will examine the modes whereby the sick and wounded are conveyed to the transports or to the hospitals, ashore or afloat. Much suffering and mortality have been caused by the want of jetties for the embarkation and disembarkation of the patients. You will see

that a remedy be applied to such a frightful omission, and that there be no recurrence of these disorders.

You will take care that, so far as is possible, all evil influences from without be removed, so that the air inhaled by the inmates of the hospitals be not contaminated. It is reported, for instance, that the hospital-ship in the harbour of Balaklava is as much surrounded by dead carcases as though it were in a knacker's yard. This, and everything everywhere approaching to it, must be remedied at once. As a necessary consequence, you will order peremptorily that the dead be interred at a sufficient distance from the hospitals. You will give directions both as to the time and mode of interment, consulting, of course, the convenience of the constituted authorities.

Should any new hospital or receptacle for the sick be decided on, while you are on this expedition, you will examine it and state all that must be done for health, decency, and comfort.

You will not interfere, in any way, with the medical and surgical treatment of the patients, nor with the regulations prescribed to the nurses and attendants.

Upon your arrival at Constantinople you will determine, among yourselves, in what way you can best carry on your operations; but it seems desirable that, after the first inspection, one Medical Commissioner should be almost constantly at Scutari and another at Balaklava. The Engineer Commissioner would be more frequently in motion, to inspect the various works and maintain the communication between his brother Commissioners.

It is important that you be deeply impressed with the necessity of not resting content with an order, but that you see, by yourselves or by your agents, instantly to the commencement of the work and to its superintendence, day by day, until it be finished.

It is your duty, in short, to state fully, and urge strongly, for adoption by the authorities, everything that you believe will tend to the preservation of health and life.

You are empowered to institute, both at Scutari and at the camp, such systems of organisation for sanitary purposes as may be considered essential to carry your plans into effect.

The camp must also come under your immediate and anxious attention.

You must consider, and apply, with the least possible delay, the best antidotes or preventives to the deadly exhalations that will be

emitted from the saturated soil whenever the warmth of spring shall begin to act on the surface.

Further instructions were added as to the cleansing of the harbour of Balaklava, the transport of the sick, the removal of all kinds of nuisances to the outside of the harbour, &c.

These clear and energetic instructions were supplemented by a dispatch from Lord Palmerston to Lord Raglan in terms no less vigorous. After requesting that Lord Raglan would give the Commissioners every possible assistance, he continued: "They will, of course, be opposed and thwarted by the medical officers, by the men who have charge of the port arrangements, and by those who have the cleaning of the camp. Their mission will be ridiculed, and their recommendations and directions set aside, unless enforced by the peremptory exercise of your authority. But that authority I must request you to exert in the most peremptory manner, for the immediate and exact carrying into execution whatever changes of arrangement they may recommend; for these are matters on which depend the health and lives of many hundreds of men, I may indeed say, of thousands."

The work of the Sanitary Commission is matter of history. Lord Shaftesbury having originated and efficiently organised it, retired, as was his habit, into the background, while others enjoyed the credit. There were some, however, of whose good opinion he was very mindful, who did not deny him the just recognition of his timely services. Among these were

Lord Palmerston and Miss Florence Nightingale. At the time, and ever afterwards, the latter, in public and private, gave "honour where honour was due."

The following extract is from a letter written by her in 1858 :—

Miss Florence Nightingale to Lord Shaftesbury.

30, Old Burlington Street, *Oct.* 16*th*, 1858.

Dear Lord Shaftesbury,—I venture to send you with this a copy of my Report to the War Office upon army sanitary matters. It is, as you will see, strictly confidential, and has *not* been presented to the House of Commons. But as Lord Shaftesbury has, for so many years, been our leader in sanitary matters (as in so many other wise and benevolent things), it seemed to me but right to send him a Report which contains so much of what was done by himself, viz., the work of the Sanitary Commission in the East, although I can scarcely expect that he will read it.

I am, dear Lord Shaftesbury,

Yours very faithfully,

F. Nightingale.

Two public events occurred about this time, to which reference is made in the Diary. The following extracts relating to them may be quoted here, before reverting to subjects which more immediately concerned Lord Shaftesbury. The events were, the death of the Czar of Russia, and the visit to England of the Emperor of the French.

March 2nd.—Intelligence by electric telegraph that the Emperor of Russia died this morning between 12 and 1 o'clock. What an event at this crisis ! If his eldest son succeed to the throne we have, humanly speaking, much hope of peace ; if his son Constantine, a

pretty certainty of war. It is, however, a mighty change ; the personal influence of the Czar over Germany is gone ; the Cabinet influence will be abated in Prussia ; the master-mind is extinct ; and it is difficult for a successor to emulate the passions, maintain the autocracy, and enter into all the conceptions of his predecessor.

I cannot but feel for the man, though I denounced the Czar. He died, I doubt not, in great measure, of a broken heart, and the fearful excitement of wounded pride and irrecoverable reputation. Mighty losses in men and money ; a declining population ; increasing European confederacies against him ; an exhausted empire ; the certainty that he could gain nothing, the almost certainty that he must lose a great deal ; all this, backed by the conviction that he himself was, in fact, the cause of the war, snapped the springs of mental and physical life ; and he died a greater slave to his ambition than many of the serfs to their tyrannical owners.

March 19th.—Last night to an evening party at Windsor Castle. Went by train in full dress (a special one being provided), and returned by the same after midnight. Emperor had been installed a Knight of the Garter. A wonderful change and elevation ! In 1848, the last time he was in England, I mounted guard with him as a special constable in Mount Street ; his next visit to this country (such are the vicissitudes of French public men) may be like Louis Philippe's, in flight, and as a refugee !

Some people dislike the history of the man and some of his doings. It may be so ; but it is here an affair of nations, not of persons. His individual character and conduct (supposing it to be reprehensible) must be merged in his representation of the French people ; it is a question of London and Paris, not of Victoria and Louis Napoleon. Nevertheless, his policy will admit of defence ; his *coup d'état* is not without its point of excuse and right. The stain on his actions, and it is a deep stain, is the cruel, unjust, spiteful, vindictive, and base confiscation of the Orleans property. This is indelible ; and for ever deprives him of the possibility of being called a high-minded man.

We, as Englishmen, have no right to find any fault. We must, on the contrary, be full of his praise ; he has, up to the present time, been loyal and true.

April 23rd.—It is a retributive justice that Palmerston is Prime Minister to receive the Emperor. He was dismissed for speaking

favourably of him. And it is also a justice that John Russell is absent from the scene of hospitality and splendour. He was the man who counselled the Queen to cashier Palmerston.

In a letter to his son Evelyn, who was studying in Geneva, Lord Shaftesbury gives a graphic, gossipy *résumé* of public and private news:—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

London, *Feb.* 28, 1855.

My dearest Evelyn,—We have been under a misapprehension. I fully believed that your mother had written you a long letter of intelligence,—social, domestic, political; and this satisfied me for the time, as I was so busy.

I have just received your letter of the 20th. It has been very long upon the road, if your date be correct; and I avail myself of 'a sitting' in the House of Lords to hear appeals, to give you a few lines.

We have had much trouble; we are again quiet for a while externally; I fear that, internally, our dangers and difficulties are no less than they were. When Palmerston had formed his Government, it suddenly fell down with the dry-rot, and he had to begin anew, on old foundations and with old materials. The motives of the Peelites for retirement are not clear. The arguments, no doubt, against Roebuck's committee are unanswerable in the line of folly and peril; but they knew them when they accepted office, and they knew also that the question was still pending, and likely to be enforced. It is matter for serious inquiry whether, in such a crisis, men are justified in incurring a certain and immediate, for a problematic and remote, danger. There were two evils to choose between —the evil of refusing the inquiry, and the evil of conceding it; and, great as is the evil of the concession, it was less, in my humble judgment, than the evil of refusal.

As for the article in the *Record*, it stated very nearly the whole facts. Lord Lansdowne took the lead against me, stimulated, in part, by many of the Whig party, who wanted the place for a Whig,

and, in part, by the ladies of Sutherland House, who wanted the place for Carlisle. Palmerston was terrified, and gave way. I do not blame him, because, in his predicament and ignorance of the true state of things, it seemed, and perhaps was, wiser to take a colleague with a party at his back before a colleague without one. He had to get the machine of Government into motion, and he was anxious for anything that might grease the wheels. He yielded, therefore, for a Whig. When Lord L. had brought him thus far, he waited a bit, and then asked for Carlisle. Palmerston protested against such an appointment as ridiculous, useless, enfeebling; but, as usual, he gave way, and Brookes' prevailed.

He is much to be pitied; he has not a single friend in public life who desires to give him honest, kind, and prudent counsel; he is not, himself, disposed to seek such counsel; the consequence is that he is blown to and fro, and reverses the apostolical precept: 'Try all things, and *hold fast that which is good.*' So far from being firm, he is beaten from everything; and I much doubt whether he has, since he became Premier, been able to do any one thing according to his own judgment and preference.

But his difficulties, it must be admitted, are enormous. He has no party of his own to rest upon; he has not even two or three able and friendly adherents to fight his battles. His choice is limited for office men; he is limited to the H. of Commons, and to such of the H. of C. as dare to vacate their seats. These are few, and mostly unworthy; and yet the public are roaring out for *new* men; but no new men of any value have been introduced through the Reform of Parliament; and the Minister can no longer introduce new men through the channel of the rotten boroughs.

Well, he has now formed a new Cabinet on the secession of the Peelites. It is, to all intents and purposes, a purely Whig administration; it will be shaky, unpopular, and of short duration. God grant that it may last long enough to carry us to a speedy peace!

The selfishness, the meanness, the love of place and salary, the oblivion of the country, of man's welfare, and God's honour, have never been more striking and terrible than in this crisis. These, added to the singular conceit of all the candidates for office (and all have aspired to the highest), have thrown stumbling-blocks in his path at every step. The greediness and vanity of our place-hunters

have combined to make each one of them a union of the vulture and the peacock.

There is a blight, my dear boy, on all we say, think, or do. God is not with us.

I much fear that Palmerston's ecclesiastical appointments will be detestable. He does not know, in theology, Moses from Sydney Smith. The vicar of Romsey, where he goes to church, is the only clergyman he ever spoke to; and, as for the wants, the feelings, the views, the hopes and fears, of the country, and particularly the religious part of it, they are as strange to him as the interior of Japan. Why, it was only a short time ago that he heard, for the first time, of the grand heresy of Puseyites and Tractarians!

Go on with Herschel. Stick to German, French, and mathematics, and keep up your classics, so far as to be ready and able to start afresh on your return in preparation for Cambridge. Let all be 'begun, continued, and ended' in Him, 'from whom alone cometh all counsel, wisdom, and understanding!'

Well you may be struck that England is 'in danger of losing her influence abroad and her integrity at home.' She is humbled. We hear the words of Isaiah: 'Come and sit down in the dust.' Constitutional government is a laughing-stock, and the progress of rational freedom on the Continent is checked for half a century. War, as Demosthenes said, discovers *τὰ σαθρὰ*, the rotten parts of an Empire; our sin has found us out; America comes next; and then the liberty of great nations will either be extinguished or become anarchy.

The French alliance I have always sought and defended; and I do so still. But I have sought it negatively, not positively—as an alliance not to do us any good, but to save us and the world from much harm. But I have seen, from the beginning, that '*incedis per ignes suppositos cineri doloso.*'

Col. Tronchin is a noble fellow: 'hold all such in reputation:' cultivate him much, and all of that stamp in Geneva; it is a fruitful soil.

The frost has ended with us, and the disemployed people, thank God, are returning to work. It has been a hard time, and yet I have almost prayed for a continuance of it, in the Crimea at least. I fear the return of spring and warm weather; the heat of the sun will draw out the pestilential exhalations of a soil which has, for months, imbibed the filth and mortality of an enormous camp.

We have sent out a powerful Sanitary Commission. May God prosper it!

Mary, I am thankful to say, is much better. Lionel came home last Friday for his exeat, and is gone back in much hope of obtaining his remove at Easter. Conty, Vea, and all the rest, are well. We have, indeed, much reason to give God thanks for the whole household. Morico,* too, shares the general health, and seems accommodated to a London life.

I have no news from the Saint, save that the good old widow Keeping is dead; she never recovered the shock of the conflagration which consumed her clothes. She was a deeply pious woman, and is gone to her rest. My iron house is erected, but not inhabited. The Woodlands people will not come to St. Giles's. They assign all kinds of reasons; it is difficult to say which is the true one.

May God bless you and preserve you, my dearest boy, in time and in eternity, through Christ Jesus.

Your affectionate father,

S.

The "escape from office" on which Lord Shaftesbury had congratulated himself was not so complete as he had anticipated. Changes were made in the Cabinet owing to the resignation of Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert; and Lord Palmerston determined, if possible, to secure the co-operation of his kinsman. Among the changes was the appointment of Lord Carlisle to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, by which the Duchy of Lancaster became again vacant; and this office, with a seat in the Cabinet, Palmerston once more offered to Lord Shaftesbury.

It was in vain for him to urge the old objections: to declare that he could not consent to be a member, in however subordinate a station, of any Administration

* A Pug-dog.

that did not, as a Government, collectively reject such a proposition as that of Sir J. Walmsley's for the Opening of Museums on Sunday; to state that he held views in antagonism to the majority of the Cabinet on the question of the admission of Jews to Parliament, and on the further endowment of Maynooth; to urge that the peculiar position he had chosen for himself disqualified him to a great extent from giving effective aid to the Government; to plead that the trammels of office would prevent him continuing in his wonted manner, the duties to which he had been for so long devoted. Palmerston was determined, and he used every exertion and influence, direct and indirect, to induce Lord Shaftesbury to yield. "I can have no objection to your holding yourself free to vote as you like," he wrote in reply to the reiterated objections. "It will be as well, however, that you should not mention to others your reservations, because these things are exaggerated in passing from mouth to mouth, and create discussions that become embarrassing to Government, and are turned against it by opponents. I therefore accept your acceptance."

But Lord Shaftesbury had not accepted, and he immediately obtained an interview with Lord Palmerston to plead for delay.

Meanwhile the position had become embarrassing. The newspapers had announced—"We believe the Earl of Shaftesbury will succeed the Earl of Carlisle as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster;"* and letters

* *Globe*, March 10th, 1855, &c

came pouring in from all quarters, urging him to take the decisive step, or congratulating him, as though it were already taken. Among the former was Mr. John Delane, the editor of the *Times*, who said: "Your high estimation in the country would be of great value to any Government." But the pressure from without was of little weight, compared with that from within his own immediate circle.

Lady Shaftesbury, who was absent from home at the time, wrote:—

I do *beseech* you not to refuse. Reflect how *much more* weight everything has, coming from a Cabinet Minister. Think, for instance, of all you have said to the Emperor about the persecution of the Protestants; it will have tenfold weight when he knows that your position in England is such as to have a seat in the Cabinet.

Lady Palmerston was as persistent as the Prime Minister, using her influence not only with Lord Shaftesbury but with her daughter, Lord Shaftesbury's wife. "Palmerston is anxious for the Queen's sake that he should be at once sworn in," she wrote to her, and followed this up with a letter, one of many upon the subject, to her son-in-law.

Lady Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

PICCADILLY, *Friday.*

MY DEAR ASHLEY,—I am quite affronted that you would not come and have some tea with me to-night. I wanted to tell you several things. How many letters pour down upon me from people you would not expect, all anxious to hear of your taking the Duchy.

I have even one from Henry Stanley at Athens, expressing his hope that you would join the new Government.

Lady Molesworth also told me to-day of many who were anxious

to hear of your acceptance, and amongst these Charles Villiers—which I hardly expected, as he always finds fault with everybody. Sir William,* of course, wants you, and Sir Benjamin Hall was so anxious to have you in the Government that he came to talk to me about it yesterday; and I suppose you know that Lord Carlisle is *very anxious* for you. But now there is another consideration that I wanted to mention. You refused to take a place in the Queen's Household, you have refused the Garter (which she did not like), and now, if you refuse a third offer of belonging to her Government, I am sure she will be quite offended; for though Palmerston had full permission to fill up the places as he thought most conducive to the advantage of his Government, yet he did take her approbation before he offered it to you. Therefore it is, in fact, her offer.

Good-night, my dear Ashley. I hope you will send a favourable answer.

Yours ever affectionately,

E. PALMERSTON.

"I never was in such perplexity in my life," said Lord Shaftesbury to the writer, when narrating these incidents. "I was at my wit's end. On one side was ranged wife, relations, friends, ambition, influence; on the other, my own objections, which seemed sometimes to weigh as nothing in comparison with the arguments brought against them. I could not satisfy myself that to accept office was a divine call; I *was* satisfied that God had called me to labour among the poor. There was no Urim and Thummim; no open vision. I could do nothing but postpone, and in doing this, I was placing Palmerston in a most awkward position. But God interposed for me."

The "interposition" came in a curious way. When perplexity was at its height, he received the following letter from Lady Palmerston:—

* Molesworth.

Lady Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

MY DEAR ASHLEY,—Palmerston has three people waiting for him, and two in his room, so that he could not write a line *now*, but he will satisfy you entirely upon all the points you mention.

And he is very anxious now, that you should put on your undress uniform and be at the Palace a quarter before three to be sworn in.

Pray do this, and I am *sure* you will not repent it. Palmerston is VERY anxious to have his Government complete, and, as there has been so much delay in all these discussions, he would be very anxious that you could, for the Queen's sake, appear at the Palace to be sworn in a quarter before three.

Yours ever affectionately,

E. PALMERSTON.

Lord Palmerston was in a dilemma. Up to that point he had been unable to find anybody who would satisfactorily fill the vacancy, otherwise he would have relieved his friend from the pressure that he knew was intolerable. His own light and hopeful spirit made him believe that, once in office, all the objections would disappear and only good would ensue to all. But had he seen any loophole for his friend, he would not have continued his urgent demands.

And Lord Shaftesbury was in a dilemma. There had been no answer borne in upon his soul, no handwriting upon the wall, no voice that he could interpret as the voice of God, to set the question at rest for him. To use his own words:—"I never felt so helpless. I seemed to be hurried along without a will of my own; without any power of resistance. I went and dressed, and then, while I was waiting for the carriage, I went down on my knees and prayed for counsel, wisdom, and

understanding. Then there was some one at the door, as I thought, to say that the carriage was ready. Instead of that a note, hurriedly written in pencil, was put into my hands. It was from Palmerston. 'Don't go to the Palace.' That was thirty years ago, but I dance with joy at the remembrance of that interposition, as I did when it happened. It was, to my mind, as distinctly an act of special providence as when the hand of Abraham was stayed and Isaac escaped."

The "ram caught in the thicket" was the Earl of Harrowby, and on March the 31st he was sworn in as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

In this day of religious liberty it may seem, to some, a curious fact that, up to the year 1855, there was an enactment in force, prohibiting the teaching of the Gospel and the worship of God in private houses, when more than twenty persons beside the family were assembled. Against persons who assembled in any numbers for secular or political purposes, for gain or merriment, there was no legal prohibition; but, if a body of Christians met to pray and to preach, they were liable to fine and imprisonment. When the Madiai were imprisoned in the dungeons of Romish Tuscany, for having faithfully discharged their duties as Christians in their own household, all England was up in arms, and was furious in indignation, while, at the very time, there was in this country a law in full force, which gave power to restrain the Christian teacher, to persecute the little bands of praying folk who met from house to house, and

to place many of the religious organisations which were leavening the mass of society at the mercy of any non-approving neighbour.

It is true that the law was regarded in most cases as only a dead letter, an obsolete thing, but, as the *Times* observed, it was "a rod in pickle, an ecclesiastical engine to be called into operation when desired." If a staunch Protestant Government were to be succeeded by one of a Puseyite character, and that again by another leaning still more towards Romanism, the law, as it stood, was ready to their hands, to shut up a vast number of Sunday and Ragged Schools as well as every mission meeting and cottage lecture, throughout the country.

In May, Lord Shaftesbury gave notice of a motion to bring in a Bill to repeal so much of the Act of 52 Geo. III. as prohibited the assembling of more than twenty persons above the members of a household for purposes of religious worship in one house.

It seems at first sight extraordinary that a matter apparently so simple could have called forth any very strong feeling, or have encountered any very serious opposition. It might reasonably have been thought that such a measure would have commended itself to the approbation of all, as in accordance with the general view of religious liberty, and a common regard for the religious improvement of the people. Such, however, was not the case. The Earl of Derby, the Bishop of Oxford, and others, threatened a strenuous opposition, and therefore, on June the 12th, on the order of the day

for reporting the Bill, Lord Shaftesbury, who at first had conceived that his task would be merely a nominal one, found himself compelled to traverse the whole length and breadth of the question.

His arguments were to this effect. It was notorious that there were amazing numbers of persons who never went into any place of public worship at all; that the Established Church and Nonconformity combined, were inadequate to grapple with the infidelity of the times; that, therefore, every facility should be given to bring the masses within the reach of instruction and the sound of the Gospel, and that no impediment whatever should be placed in the way of those who sought to neutralise the poison of indifference and infidelity by the antidote of religion. Owing, mainly, to the extreme difficulty of inducing the working classes to attend the ordinary religious services in Churches and Chapels, there had been provided, to meet the wants of the people, Missions, Cottage Lectures, Bible Classes, Sunday and Ragged Schools, and other kindred institutions, by means of which hundreds of thousands of persons had been evangelised, although in nine cases out of ten these meetings had been positively illegal, as they almost invariably commenced and closed with singing and prayer, which constitute "Religious Worship." During the year 1854, for example, the City Mission had held no less than 25,318 meetings, of which 22,000 were in direct infringement of the law. Were the law enforced, these, and all similar gatherings, must of necessity be stopped. Lord Shaftesbury went on to say:—

It might be contended, perhaps, that the law was obsolete. It might be obsolete in one sense, but it had great power of revival, and might be enforced at any moment. Indeed, at present it was constantly used for purposes of intimidation, and he could quote instances in which it had been actually put in force. In 1820, an information was laid against Lord Barham, the present Lord Gainsborough, by Lord Romney, at West Malling, near Maidstone, under the Act, religious services having been held in Lord Barham's house when he was unwell, instead of in the village schoolroom. Lord Barham was fined £40—£20 for each meeting. . . .

A gentleman, a county magistrate in a northern county, early in 1854 came to reside on his estate, and found the parish in a most neglected condition. At the gates of his park was a large coal mine and a dense population around it. Finding that nobody would do anything for them, he went one evening in every week, and in the largest cottage read a chapter of the Bible and some religious tracts. The meetings were numerously attended; but, after a few months he was obliged to drop it, and it ceased. And why? It was hinted to him that persons were about to lay an information against him for a breach of the Conventicle Act. He, being an active county magistrate, felt that it was not right in him to set an example of breaking the law, so he gave up his reading. . . . The gentleman in question might have had a cock-fight, jumping in sacks, or any sort of amusement, and nobody could have objected to it, but the moment this gentleman, commiserating the religious destitution of the people, went to their cottages, read to them a chapter in the Bible, and joined with them in religious worship, the law said, 'Mind what you are doing, for if you are caught at this again you will be fined £20.'

After citing another and very striking case, in which the law had been actually put in force so recently as March, 1850, Lord Shaftesbury maintained that unless some public end could be shown to be advanced by the present law, or, unless it could be shown that its repeal would be subversive of public morality, it was not just or right to place a veto upon a man receiving any number of persons into his house for purposes of

religious worship; and he appealed to the right reverend prelates opposite, whether it was consistent with their position or their Christian dignity, to deprive some of the most useful of their own clergy, or of the Nonconformists, of the power of doing their best to evangelise their flocks without breaking the law, or to consent to the present system of wholesale connivance? He appealed also to the Government, whether the more wise and the more just plan would not be to repeal the law altogether; or else, if they would not consent to such a course, to enforce its provisions strictly.

The result of the division is told in the following entry:—

June 13th.—Last night moved 'Religious Worship Bill' in House of Lords. Encountered by nine Bishops. Oxford and London leading a knot of Puseyite Peers, and Lord Derby with as many of his followers as he could command. Carried it, however, by 31 to 30, the Irish Bishop, Singer, giving me the majority. One of the most, perhaps the most unpleasant evening I recollect in public life. Derby and his friends behind me while I spoke, insolent, interruptive, discouraging. He seemed like a man who felt a deep irritation at the movement and a hatred for the mover. Faltered, at least to my own sensation, very greatly; was awfully depressed, unhappy, and diffident; nothing without in the house, and nothing within my own heart, to cheer me.

The antagonism of the Bishop of Oxford to the Bill was vehement and persistent, and for a time it appeared to be in considerable jeopardy.

June 16th.—Last night Derby moved that the Religious Worship Bill be sent to a Select Committee, and carried it by 17. Eleven Bishops voting with him. It is the height of folly in them to resist the measure; the Bishops, especially, had an opportunity of giving,

with grace and favour, what they cannot retain. They have exhibited, on the contrary, great ignorance, bigotry, and opposition to evangelical life and action, and have seriously injured their character, influence, and position. The feeling is universal and very strong. The Archbishop, I rejoice to say, and the Bishop of Winchester, stayed away. Had, I bless the Lord God, more comfort and strength last night than before.

Lord Shaftesbury was invited to join the Committee, but, as soon as he saw the names of those composing it, he declined, feeling sure that in every way he would be completely overpowered. The opinion of the Select Committee was, that the Bill should not be proceeded with, but that another should be substituted. This was accordingly done, and it was introduced to the House by the Earl of Derby, who stated that the Bill he had brought up from the Select Committee provided: 1. That no penalties should be incurred by any religious worship conducted by the incumbent or licensed curate of a parish, or by any clerk in holy orders acting on their behalf. 2. That no penalties should, under any existing laws, be imposed for the use of prayer in opening or closing of meetings held to promote any religious or charitable object. 3. That no penal clause should attach to any layman holding any meeting for religious purposes, provided he acts with the consent and concurrence of the clergyman of the district. 4. That if such layman failed in obtaining the clergyman's sanction, and could obtain the concurrence and permission of the bishop of the diocese, he should be equally sanctioned in that proceeding.

It was obvious that the new Bill did not touch the

evil of which Lord Shaftesbury complained, and which he sought to remove. This was almost acknowledged by Lord Derby when he said: "There were cases in which some individuals, desirous of holding family worship and of admitting his poorer neighbours to it, might be restricted by the existing law; and he should be inclined to consent to some relaxation in such cases, though he could not frame any such clause."

That impediments should be placed in the way of religious worship by dignitaries of the Church of England, was intolerable to Lord Shaftesbury. In attempting to legislate that meetings should be held only under the direction of an "authorised" leader, in accordance with certain forms, and in a licensed place, he saw clearly that, although their plea was ostensibly to preserve order in the Church, the actual motive was to limit the work of laymen, to arrest the progress of Dissent, and to prevent any innovations which should disturb existing relations between the clergy and their parishioners.

In moving the rejection of Lord Derby's Bill, he said that after the discussion that had taken place, it was impossible the law could remain obsolete, in the large communities where it had hitherto been obsolete. If the Bill, proposed by Lord Derby, became law, it must be enforced, and why revive the old law or bring a new one into operation which must cause restrictions in religious worship? The principle involved in the question had gone deep into the heart of the country,

and whether his own Bill were rejected or not, it was only for a time, for sure as was the setting of the rising sun, it would be found that its principle would be asserted—namely, "*that every man should have a perfect right to worship God when and how he pleased—to worship in his own house, with his neighbours, in any number, and at any time; that this should not be a mere privilege, but a right, unless it could be shown that public morality or public safety would be endangered by it.*"

He objected to Lord Derby's Bill on the ground that, under the guise of the Statute Law, it was an entirely new Ecclesiastical Discipline Bill, to give greater power to the bishops over the clergy and laity. Its first clause enacted that such worship should only be performed by "licensed" curates, who, more than any others, were under the power of the bishops; laymen must go, as suppliants, to the incumbent or bishop, to ask leave to hold service in their own houses, and take their chance of permission or refusal. The second clause granted permission to offer prayer in opening or closing a meeting, "certainly not in the middle. If prayers were offered up in the midst of such a meeting a penalty of £20 would be incurred." But the bare idea of "permission" to pray was intolerable to Lord Shaftesbury. "It may as well be said," he exclaimed indignantly, "that I am to have 'permission' to breathe the air!"

In a series of vigorous and crushing arguments he attacked the Bill, point by point, and concluded in these words:—

We are living in fearful and exciting times of great and growing unbelief. Look at the solemn warning given by the Registrar General, who tells us that there are in this country five millions of persons wholly without instruction of any kind. Depend upon it those millions will never be invited to the Church by tightening the reins of the ecclesiastical system, for, unless the Church is able to act as a missionary Church, and, by the removal of every restriction upon her free actions, to compete with every denomination, my belief is that her existence as an Established Church will not be of long duration.

He then moved that the Bill, brought in by the Earl of Derby, be read a second time that day three months.

Immediately following the speech of Lord Shaftesbury, came one from Lord Brougham, in which, referring to the old Conventicle Act of Charles II., Lord Sidmouth's Act of 1812, and to the Act of 1852, he said:—

"It is asserted by some that these Acts are obsolete, these penalties cannot be enforced, and the law is a dead letter. There is nothing more dangerous than keeping upon the statute-book these dead letters, these obsolete penalties, which we hope, but vainly hope, can never be enforced. They are not to be regarded even as dead reptiles, whose venom is henceforth innoxious. They are merely dormant and not dead, and are capable of being warmed into active life at any moment by the malicious passions of one, by the avarice of another, or by worse than either, the mistaken religious zeal of a third."

He then gave some forcible illustrations to show that so-called "obsolete penalties" must not be dis-

regarded, as they could be, and were, enforced, and the penalty to prevent more than twenty persons meeting for religious worship in any private house, or other unlicensed building, still remained.

The speech of Lord Brougham following that of Lord Shaftesbury, produced a telling effect, and immediately upon its conclusion the Earl of Derby rose and withdrew his Bill.

A week later, an important and influential meeting was held in Freemasons' Hall to strengthen Lord Shaftesbury's efforts, when a petition was adopted for presentation to the House of Lords. Within four days of the presentation of this petition, Lord Shaftesbury again brought forward his Bill, having revised it in some points, which rendered it less objectionable to the Bench of Bishops, but without infringing upon its principle. The Bill was recommitted to the Select Committee, and Lord Shaftesbury, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, were appointed members of that Committee.

Late as it was, the Session did not pass before Lord Shaftesbury's Bill stood part of the statute law of the land. It established the power of the incumbent or curate, and the persons authorised by either of them, to conduct religious worship in a schoolroom or any building, be it barn or palace, in any part of his district, without in any way being molested by any power, judicial or ecclesiastical. It enabled a householder to use his house for religious worship, and to gather into it any number of persons without his being any longer

subject to pains and penalties of any kind whatever; and it made the meetings of missionaries, scripture readers, and religious teachers, whether held from house to house or in some regular place, lawful assemblies.

A few notes from the Diary are quoted here, although their purport has been given above.

July 7th.—Yesterday evening triumphed, by God's blessing, over Lord Derby's, *i.e.*, the Bishop of Oxford's, Religious Worship Bill. He withdrew it. Had great success in exposing its follies, its falsity, its impudent ambition for the Bishop to gain new powers over the clergy and laity.

July 17th.—Last night, by happy agreement with the good Archbishop of Canterbury, got well over difficulties of the 'Bill.' Referred, by consent, to same committee, myself joining the committee. Passed it to-day easily.

July 21st.—Bill through committee of House. Waiting for third reading on Monday. Contains everything I asked for, though altered in form and so worded as to give a fair retreat to the Bishops.

August 1st.—I open this book now to record God's mercy in the success of the 'Bill!' It passed on Monday evening (30th) with two words of protest, scarcely heard, from Mr. Henley, who lay growling in his den; and Walpole had fled.

A dinner last night at the National Club, given to me by fourteen or fifteen co-operators in this cause. It was friendly, cordial, and Christian. Speeches after dinner, very religious in their tone, and such as we require in these times of secret 'rebuke and blasphemy.'

We must now glance at some of the "miscellaneous" events of the year, and go back to cull our extracts from the Diary, relating to matters of minor public interest it may be, but which affected the private life of Lord Shaftesbury and were connected with the main current of his work.

March 28th.—On Monday spoke three times in House of Lords on Sardinia. Opportunity offered, and was prompted to seize it by hope of pleasing Sardinian Government, and so increasing one's influence to aid Waldenses and the Bible Society. Very fervent, and received, as I thought, in silence. Felt quite overwhelmed. This is the painful character of the House of Lords. You seldom know whether you are pleasing or displeasing your audience, so stiff is their phlegm!

May 3rd.—I dread, sadly dread, these schemes of national education. Pakington, who is a good man, and a sensible one, has taken the lead in a scheme for local rates to maintain the education of the people. Such a plan is a death-warrant to the teaching of evangelical religion. *It had better be called 'a water-rate to extinguish religious fire among young people.'* Here, indeed, we must betake ourselves to prayer, for the scheme (little does my honest and kind friend Pakington perceive it) poisons the very root, and causes that 'things, which should have been for our peace, be unto us an occasion of falling.'

May 8th.—Inglis is numbered with the departed. He died the day before yesterday. A man so single, so peculiar, has seldom existed in public life. Pure-minded, affectionate, true, incorruptible, governing all his public actions, and, I am sure, too, his private life, by the love and fear of God, he maintained a career which had no precedent, and, probably, will be no example. Everybody was compelled (there is no other word) to respect him, and those who enjoyed his intimacy, loved him.

During the month of June, Lord Shaftesbury was busy with two Bills, one for further legislation on behalf of Chimney Sweeps, whose wrongs were still left unredressed (which Bill, chiefly in consequence of the active resistance of Sir G. Grey, he was compelled to withdraw), and another, on behalf of Milliners and Dressmakers. The question of their condition had been frequently discussed, but nothing had been done until 1842, when the Report of the Employment Commission

was issued, and, even then, no direct legislative results followed. In 1843 there were 1,500 young persons of 14 years old and upwards employed in this business in the metropolis. Their hours were from fifteen to eighteen a day, with only from two to six hours for rest. The consequence was that consumption and impaired eyesight were terribly prevalent amongst them. In 1844 a committee of benevolent ladies caused Sunday work to be abandoned, and in 1853, the proprietors of many dressmaking establishments agreed to abide by rules, laid down by an association formed to protect the interests of the needlewomen. Since that time, however, things had lapsed almost to their former worst condition, and Lord Shaftesbury's Bill proposed that between May the 1st and August the 1st, which included the "London season," work should be prohibited between 10 p.m. and 8 a.m., and, for the remainder of the year, between 9 p.m. and 8 a.m. An hour and a half was to be allowed for meals; all proceedings for the enforcement of penalties under the Bill were to be taken at the police courts, before magistrates to whom the jurisdiction in these matters was to be exclusively committed. The principle of the Bill had already received recognition in the three great measures, the Factory, the Mines and Collieries, and the Ten Hours Bills.

June 6th.—Have prepared Bills for the Chimney Sweepers and Milliners. Sad, cruel, overwhelming their sufferings; but how shall I prosper? All is in His hands, who cares as much for the smallest, sickliest sempstress as for all the grand ladies of the land. But it is not the great who are alone chargeable with connivance (to suit their own convenience) at these enormous abuses; every woman who is

rich enough to have a fine gown is *particeps criminis*, and the wealthy of Liverpool, Birmingham, Norwich, and all the large towns, perpetrate the same abominations.

June 16th.—On Thursday last introduced Bill for relief of 'Milliners and Dressmakers.' Statement, though most distressing, received with little favour indoors, and, so far as I can see, with none out of doors. Not a paper, except the *Standard*, has uttered a word in defence of those poor, helpless, oppressed girls. Referred to a 'Committee on Trade.'

Immediately after the close of the Parliamentary Session, Lord Shaftesbury started for his customary tour abroad.

Aug. 8th.—Do not start on my journey with a light heart; far rather remain in England. . . . Am getting on in life, and must use, while it lasts, my remnant of intellect: powers, such as they were, weaken; and no wonder, for it is all expense and no income; all labour and no rest; all action and no study; all exhaustion and no supply. Not had time to read a single book, a single review. . . . It requires the skill of the most cunning practitioner to turn to account time in Mosaic.

The journey which began without light-heartedness was to end in deep gloom. His son, Maurice, had for many years been the victim of a sad malady, and, while Lord Shaftesbury was on his travels, the news reached him that he had passed away.

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

BASLE, *Aug.* 21, 1855.

MY DEAR EVELYN,—Here, on our way to Lausanne as fast as we could go, we received a telegraphic message to announce that dear Maurice had entered into his rest. It has pleased God to take the afflicted child—afflicted doubtless in His infinite wisdom—and receive him into Paradise. For that he is there, through the boundless love and merits of our blessed Saviour, I am as certain as I am of my own existence. His intellect, through a terrible succession of fits, had

sunk exceedingly; yet his heart was erect; he was heard to murmur 'Christ's Kingdom, Christ's Kingdom,' and endeavoured to recover many texts that he had learned in earlier days. What a lesson is this for the teaching of youth! Here is he consoled, and repeating, as it were, the password into Heaven by the spiritual knowledge acquired in his merest childhood, the only remnant of mind in an hour of darkness.

I have lost two precious sons for the short time of human life; but I have, by the love of Christ, housed them for ever in Heaven. May those who survive walk worthy of their vocation, and, after a life of service and faith, be gathered into a blissful eternity. I am going to travel all night, in the hope of reaching Lausanne for the final work of respect and affection.

May God be with you.

Yours affectionately, S.

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

SCHWALBACH, *Sept.* 3, 1855.

MY DEAR EDY,—Your letter, addressed to Lausanne, followed me to Schwalbach, and found me recovering, thank God, from a singularly sharp attack of bilious cholic. . . Poor dear Maurice was interred in the cemetery of the district (there being no English churchyard) attended by many kind and sympathising people. Wonderful it is that this feeble boy had such a charm around him, as to attract very many. His intellectual weakness and his spiritual strength resulted in a very impressive combination. I have directed a tombstone to his memory, on which will be engraved two texts which he cherished, and often repeated, 'The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want;' 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted.' How good, he now knows in reality; he knew it before in faith. Frequently, in speaking and in writing, I have been permitted to comfort him by quoting the words of our blessed Lord, 'What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.' . . I have written details to St. Leonards; the children might send you the letters. . . I am in perplexity about our fleets. What is that in the Euxine doing? Lyons seems to have no more energy than Dundas. As for Sweaborg, the Russian account is clearly a lying one; it says

that 'we attempted to land troops, and were beaten back with loss.' Not a single man, thank God, was killed. . . Can you devise a little change for Lionel before he returns to Harrow? He must, poor boy, have been grievously dull all this time.

May God bless you.

Yours affectionately, S.

The Diaries abound with fugitive thoughts put down at odd moments on a wonderful variety of subjects. Here is one as an example :—

August 15th.—Intellect is everything in this age, character nothing. Let a man make a good speech, and he is a good man—good enough, at least, for all practical purposes. 'Illuc cuncta vergere;' these public examinations for public appointments are hastening the consummation. If a man can construe well a passage in Tacitus, or solve a mathematical problem, it is enough; no inquiry as to the higher qualities, moral fitness, personal adaptation;—away he goes a writer to India, having passed, in many instances, his pillars of Hercules, never to go further—possibly to retrograde.

Nov. 13th.—Broadlands. Palmerston has appointed Eyre, of Bury, on my recommendation, to the living of All Souls. A blessed work. May God sanctify it!

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

ST. GILES'S HOUSE, *Nov.* 21, 1855.

MY DEAR EDY,—'No play, and all employ, makes Jack a dull boy.' I quite admit this assertion; but I fear that, unless corrected by steady and severe study, it may very easily be abused. I say no more; you will best judge how far a succession of amusements will enable you to 'square the circle.' . . . Our weather is mild, but dull. We are like St. Paul, when he was 'driven up and down in Adria:' neither stars nor sun have appeared for at least fourteen days. I am very busy with schools, and want you much. The evening classes, by God's blessing, prosper exceedingly. The lads are attentive, very regular, fifty-two in number (an immense gathering for so small a parish), and make progress. Much will arise from our new master, an excellent man, trained to the charge of turbulent Ragged Schools in London, and experienced in the modes of imparting knowledge.

Now is the time, Edy, to lay in a stock of all that is requisite. In a very few years your life, should it be spared by God's mercy, will be a life of action, not of acquisition. Every revolution of the earth on its axis shortens the period allotted to study, and forces mankind to be 'up and doing,' as the phrase is. May you be an instrument in the hands of the Almighty for His great and blessed purposes! Yours affectionately, S.

The following are among the closing entries in the Diary for the year.

Dec. 8th.—Woburn Abbey. Here last night. What a place! It is not a palace, a house; it is a town, a municipal borough, a city. Why, with all its appurtenances of stables, gardens, outbuildings, &c, there is more brick, stone, and mortar than in a dozen streets of Dorchester or Blandford. It is a 'Kirjath Hazoth,' 'a conglomeration of streets'—costly, astounding, wearisome.

Dec. 12th.—St. Giles. Winter has set in early and vigorously. Sufferings of the poor very great. The scenes, as recorded in the Police Reports, at the doors of the workhouses, and all night long, are horrifying. Boards of Guardians, Vestrymen, Relieving Officers, and the President of the P. L. Commission, are alike, either brutal, ignorant or foolish. These things morbidly affect me. They are ever in my mind, and during the inclement season destroy all my comfort, and abate the enjoyment of what, by God's mercy, I possess. All is remediable, but not by one man. And now 'philanthropy' is at a discount; people are nauseated with humanity and 'humanity-mongers,' and especially with myself.

Dec. 27th.—Just heard that Palmerston designs to make some lawyers 'Peers for life'—a step as pernicious as it is specious. It must eventually, and not remotely, destroy the hereditary House of Lords. It will begin by making us the 'French Chamber,' and end by making us the 'American Senate.'

Written to dissuade him; but *cui bono?* The day is come—'*Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus*'—and all these things will fall.

END OF VOL. II.

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